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FBIS-EEU-92-102 *27 May 1992*

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Bosnia-Hercegovina

Sarajevo radio reports that Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev held "constructive" and "useful" talks with Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic and Prime Minister Jure Pelivan. Kozyrev's talks in Sarajevo and Belgrade resulted in an "agreement in principle" on "a cease-fire, the lifting of the blockade on roads, the fulfillment of the agreement on barracks, and the lifting of the blockade on Sarajevo airport." However, Belgrade radio reports that the cease-fire was violated with "new crimes" in Sarajevo and the lifting of the airport blockade "for humanitarian and civilian purposes" was not achieved because the Muslims "carried out an attack." Zagreb radio reports that during his visit, Kozyrev was held by "terrorists" for 90 minutes in the Lukavica barracks. The Presidency and the Russian Embassy were not informed.

Yugoslavia

International—After reviewing UN documents on the situation in Yugoslavia and its former republics, Presidency Vice President Branko Kostic sent a letter to UN Secretary General Butrus Ghali on "current events," according to TANJUG. The letter notes the "immense disappointment and indignation at finding ourselves accused...of committing aggression," and "declares" that Yugoslavia "shall participate with maximum commitment in UN activities and decisions and act in concert with them."

Serbia—The Serbian Government has invited "representatives of all ethnic Albanian political parties and movements in its Province of Kosovo-Metohija" to discuss "upcoming federal and municipal elections" in Belgrade on 28 May, TANJUG reports. The invitation "stresses the government's willingness to discuss all questions 'in connection with the exercise of the rights guaranteed under the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia....'"

Croatia

Zagreb radio reports that "the Army of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia" began withdrawing from the Dubrovnik area where "tanks were withdrawn" from Zarkovica and Dubac. According to TANJUG, the "Hercegovina Corps has lifted the blockade of Dubrovnik and withdrawn its units from the surroundings of the city." The troops are being deployed "along the administrative border between Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia," the Corps press center is reported to have said. The move is reported as a "goodwill" measure to encourage the continuation of talks. The troops were "moved to a distance which guarantees a renewed blockade, if necessary." The Corps press center states that "the fate of Dubrovnik...is now exclusively in the hands of the Republic of Croatia."

Slovenia

Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel, in a letter to UN Secretary General Butrus Ghali, proposed that the Security Council "immediately start the procedure to terminate the UN membership of the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia," Ljubljana radio reports. This "demand" stems from the fact that "the former SFRY has disintegrated and does not exist any more." Slovenia "does not oppose a possible request by Serbia and Montenegro to become UN members."

Poland

In a letter to the speaker of the Sejm, President Lech Walesa announced that he is withdrawing his support for Jan Olszewski's government and called for the creation of a new government. Saying that he had "lost my confidence in the present government," Walesa blamed it for the "destabilization of the state's structures" and contended that his "constitutional powers" were being "disregarded."

Consultations on Budapest CSCE Meeting Held

LD2205224992 Budapest MTI in English 1612 GMT 22 May 92

[Text] Budapest, May 22 (MTI)—Heads of delegations of the CSCE on member states on Friday held a consultation on preparations for the first CSCE parliamentary assembly, due to take place in Budapest in early July.

In an interval, Felix Ponds, speaker of the Spanish parliament, termed it as a sign of confidence that the CSCE had selected Budapest as the venue of its first parliamentary assembly.

In reply to a question related to the role of the new CSCE organization in the European parliamentary movement, Ponds said that the CSCE parliamentary assembly would be a common forum for all member states ranging from Canada to the Asian republics of the former Soviet Union.

'Reserve' on Armenia, SFRY

TA2305134692 Ankara ANATOLIA in English 0945 GMT 23 May 92

[Text] Budapest, May 23 (AA)—Yugoslavia and Armenia have till the end of June to abide by Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) rules and withdraw their forces from invaded territories, it was reported here on Saturday. Senior CSCE officials reported Yugoslavia must withdraw from Bosnia-Hercegovina and Armenia from Karabakh and Nakhichevan before the CSCE parliamentary assembly due for July 3 and 6 in Budapest.

Turkey put a reserve on Yugoslavia and Armenia's attendance condition to the CSCE parliamentary assembly. According to this, the concerned countries will have to abide by the CSCE rule of non-violation of borders, to abide by CSCE cease-fire and for Yugoslavia to withdraw from Bosnia-Hercegovina, and for Armenia from Karabakh. If this is not realised, their right to vote at the CSCE assembly will be suspended and their seats will remain empty at the 308 member-assembly.

Both countries' resolutions for future action will become clear at the CSCE Minsk conference in June and will influence the parliamentary assembly's final decision at the meeting in July, officials said.

Moldova's Hadarca Protests 14th Army at CSCE

AU2505133392 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0931 GMT 25 May 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 25/5/1992—The first deputy speaker of the parliament of the Republic of Moldova Ion Hadarca released a message to the participants in the Budapest session of the heads of parliamentary delegations of CSCE members countries in which, in the name of the Republic of Moldova, an independent state, full member of the United Nations and of the CSCE, protests against the perfidious aggression of the 14th Army which belongs to the military system of the Russian Federation.

"The obvious goal of this aggression is the separation by force of the districts of Moldova on the left bank of the Dniester, districts which are an integral part of the Republic of Moldova," Mr. Hadarca states.

"I ask you to condemn this absolutely groundless and unprovoked aggression and vote a motion demanding the Russian Federation to order the commander of the 14th Army to cease, without any delay, its acts of aggression in an area which is not under the sovereignty of the Russian Federation, an area which incontestably belongs to Moldova," Mr. Hadarca stresses.

Ministry Protests Serbian Violence in Kosovo

AU2605153592 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 26 May 92

[Foreign Ministry statement issued in Tirana on 26 May]

[Text] The Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Albania is very shocked and worried by the reports from Pristina which describe large Serbian police and civilian armed forces surrounding the village of Leshan in Peje [Pec] Commune this morning. They violently intervened and used firearms against the unarmed Albanian population, who have suffered victims.

The Foreign Ministry strongly protests to the Belgrade authorities and calls on them to cease using violence and to order the withdrawal of military and police forces from the Republic of Kosovo. The use of violence and the start of the long-expected massacre of the Albanian population in Kosovo is not the way to solve the problems. This could lead only to major bloodshed, which we believe would greatly affect the Serbs, too. Such acts may result in the total destabilization of our region. They are also a great challenge to the efforts of the CSCE, the EEC, the United States, and the rest of the world to solve the crisis in the former Yugoslavia through peaceful and democratic means, principles that the Albanian people of Kosovo proved themselves determined to apply through the free elections of 24 May. We simultaneously call on the European Community and the United States to do everything in their power to avoid bloodshed and conflict in Kosovo and to protect the unarmed Albanian people from the medieval Serbian violence.

Meksi Comments on Application of Economic Reform

AU2205144792 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 3 May 92 p 1

[Interview with Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi by Ilir Dhima; place and date not given: "The Government Is Determined To Apply the Economic Reform in Every Respect"]

[Text] [Dhima] Since the implementation of the cycle of political transformations in our country, the broad masses of Albanian society have placed great hopes in the program of your government. What do you think of the application of this program now that a little time has passed since it was proclaimed, thus giving you the chance to think about it? Will it lead to an increase in the living standards of the people or...?

[Meksi] The government is doing everything in its power and that international relations permit to ensure that aid and credits are received in order to guarantee a quick improvement in the living standard of Albanians. It is well known that this improvement can come only when the reform has taken its own first steps. Every reform begins with a period of stringency; i.e., a period of necessary economic hardships.

In Albania's case, we hope this period will be as short as possible. We hope that this will be a period of intensive privatization that will continue to the beginning of 1993 and put into motion all the productive capacity that is necessary for the country's future. It will also put into motion all those enterprises that may not be very efficient but will continue to work for social reasons, because of the great number of workers they keep employed. This period will put into motion all those enterprises whose maintenance is necessary for their future existence. It is understandable that these measures will be accompanied, as we stated in the government program, by the closure of those enterprises that are not efficient and cause disruption in the economy. Everyone knows that in order to have an effective economy to accumulate income—it is necessary to close all the holes through which incomes leak and cause losses.

[Dhima] Let us specifically talk about the concern of the majority of our population. What amendments and improvements do you intend to make to the Land Law, and when do you think you will make them?

[Meksi] The Land Law certainly needs improvements, which we learned from experience. We have proposed many of these improvements since the law was compiled. What is important is to improve it in accordance with international standards, as applied by other countries. Nationalization in agriculture here began nearly half a century ago. Since that time, extraordinary transformations have happened, especially regarding ownership. In conformity with these standards, we will make the relevant amendments to compensate the former owners to the level of middle peasant and to an extent that still remains to be defined. The drafting of these amendments will begin only when we really know the extent of this compensation; i.e., after the Land Law is totally applied. The government is unshaken in its enforcement of this law. The law will be applied and land distribution will continue. We will later be able to compile amendments and apply them in practice in as short a period as possible. We know that there are many problems. There are peasants who have obtained less land than others, and those who have a very low living standard. These amendments will enable these peasants to achieve the same level as the others, and the land distribution is the first condition to ensure this.

[Dhima] Mr. Prime Minister, we consider it necessary to inform the reader through this interview about the course of the economic reform from the start, and specifically about price liberalization, which especially worries the simple, honest people.

[Meksi] Price liberalization is an indispensable condition for assessing the real value of every product, and sending it to the market, verifying its usefulness, estimating the value of enterprises, the need for technological improvements, etc. Moreover, it is a weapon in the fight against corruption and wheeler-dealing that withdraws these common goods from the market and sells them at higher prices. It is certain that this will at first

cause irregularities. The government is taking measures to ensure reserves of goods, thus influencing prices. The government will simultaneously take measures to balance wages, so that the broad strata of the population will be able to withstand the price liberalization.

[Dhima] After studying the situation and considering the talks that you have conducted with the representatives of Western states, firms, and international institutions, and especially after President Berisha's statement that Albania will follow an open-door policy, do you hope for quick foreign investments in the vital sectors of our economy?

[Meksi] We have several times said that we want Albania to embark on the road toward Europe. It is evident that Albania cannot go forward without the aid of Europe, the United States, and everyone who agrees to help Albania without any desire to profit or dictate; for example, in equal partnership. First we need to reschedule with the IMF the debts that we inherited from the previous government. This means giving the green light to get credits from the Group of 24, the European Community, and various banks. These constitute the first steps in applying the reform. Moreover, the European Community has already granted and will soon grant additional aid to Albania in a series of programs, such as that of food aid amounting to $45 million, the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] Program, etc. Investments are another source. Amendments to the laws on foreign investments in accordance with international standards will certainly reduce unemployment in Albania to a great extent, thus opening up new jobs and strengthening the budget of the Albanian state. This budget is deeply in the red because of the 80-percent law and the social assistance, provided since the beginning of the reform. We will fight every obstacle that has so far been raised against foreign investments, of course without trampling on our people's interests, but carefully assessing them and trying to have as many tenders as possible in each case. Of course, we will address every country and firm willing to invest in this field.

[Dhima] It is said that a restructuring of the state apparatus through appointing efficient and honest people is necessary to enable truly genuine democratic developments. Meanwhile, some members of your cabinet in interviews and statements have implied a "settling of accounts." After the parliamentary debates about this question, which of these opinions now matches the policy followed by your government?

[Meksi] The Democratic Party has always supported national unity and opposed settling of accounts. We do not think of it even now. We maintain our view that everyone should find a position according to his ability, predisposition, and experience in applying a democratic program. The individuals with a corrupted moral reputation and whose attitude toward the Albanian people has left too much to be desired and that have become the object of criticism from everyone, cannot apply another program from the very beginning. In those positions, in which the political character of duties to be performed by the individual himself is more evident, it is clear that we should find new people with new political mentalities and new demands, but always professional people. There are other structures of the state administration requiring fewer demands, so professionalism will decide. Everyone should understand that the people gave their mandate to the Democratic Party to govern the country in the most difficult period in the history of the Albanian state and nation. This can be done by implementing every one of its orders at all levels and applying the policy that is the basis of its program.

[Dhima] Can the law-governed state only act by separating itself from party resolutions...?

[Meksi] I would say that the political parties can fulfill their program through governing. We are not of the opinion that these parties should have their offices in the state administration to appoint people, as they used to do before. The party has its own program, which will be applied by the government and cannot be conceived separately from the policy of the party to which it belongs.

[Dhima] Now the last question: What wish would you prefer: "Success in your work!" or "Good luck!"?

[Meksi] Success in your work!

[Dhima] Let us hope!

Council of Ministers Discusses Food, Fuel Supply

AU2405133792 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1730 GMT 23 May 92

[Text] The Council of Ministers chaired by Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi held its meeting this morning. First, the government discussed a report by the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Relations on the situation of food supply and the measures that should be taken to improve it. The ministry's report and discussions by the government members expressed concern over the difficulties created in ensuring the quotas for some goods, such as sugar, oil, and soap, which had significant shortages so far. Information and explanations were given to acquaint the government with the prospects of supplying the people with the basic food articles during the next months and later. Prime Minister Meksi stressed that supplying the people with food is one of the main duties of the government. He stressed that efforts to ensure these supplies are being made in two directions: with the European Community and particular states, such as Italy, Turkey, and Greece that have granted aid and credits for an expeditious dispatch of goods, and also other states, especially some of the Group of 24 members. The Prime Minister warned the government on ensuring goods' transport under the conditions when the railway transport via former Yugoslavia has become impossible. He asked to increase the

daily quota of processing in Durres Harbor and seek other solutions for road transport.

After discussing this question, the Council of Ministers passed several bills and resolutions. They held a preliminary discussion on the bill on service of state control, as the highest institution of the economic and financial control.

After the report presented on thesituation of fuel supply, the Council of Ministers discussed the difficulties in ensuring fuel under the conditions of a decrease in production and the need of a rigid stringency. It also approved the bill on the measures that should be taken to ensure fuel and lubricants' supply.

The meeting also approved the bill on the main duties and the organizational structure of the Science and Technology Committee.

Assembly Approves Gun, Police Law, Airport Decree

AU2605100892 Tirana ATA in English 0854 GMT 26 May 92

[Text] Tirana, May 26 (ATA)— On May 25 afternoon, the deputies to the People's Assembly discussed and endorsed the last five articles of the draft law on weapons.

In the afternoon sitting the deputies endorsed a supplement to the law on police, granting the opportunity to the former political prisoners to become police officers, who previously did not have practical chances to fulfill the conditions defined by law.

There was endorsed as a whole and article per article and in principle the decree on defending Rinas airport. In the end of the sitting, the deputies also endorsed the agenda on some changes to the constitutional provisions for local power.

Article Criticizes 'Communist Oasis' of ATA

AU2605192392 Tirana REPUBLIKA in Albanian 14 May 92 pp 1,4

[Ylli Rakipi, Lutfi Dervishi article: "The Communist Oasis Everybody Forgot"]

[Text] Article 24 is now being discussed everywhere. Many people agree that it is necessary for the demolition of the half century-old communist structure. There is also a group of people who fear and cringe before it. These are mainly the spokesmen of the dictatorship, who gave sterling service until the last moment. They sacrificed everything, including their honor and dignity, in the service of the dictatorship. They were the framers and executors of the laws and articles under which our people were savagely persecuted. They are not capable of building a new system. These people worked only for the dictatorship, which swallowed them and left their shadows behind. Article 24 will deal with these shadows.

Calm on Marsel Kashen Street

On Marsel Kashen Street, just before you reach the Foreign Ministry, there is a four-story building with a terrace decorated by a number of antennae pointing in all directions.

The building is called ATA, and they say that the antennae on the terrace are designed to receive the world's news. ATA is the abbreviation of the ALBANIAN TELEGRAPHIC AGENCY. On the basis of this name, a person (poor fellow!) might imagine that this building, which receives and monitors news from all over the world, would be very busy. In fact, the opposite is the case: This building is plunged into the silence of the grave and seems deserted. You can easily meet its employees (they say there are about 160) anywhere but at ATA. Since the disturbances Liljana Hoxha, for example, has turned up at ATA only to hand in doctor's notes (!). She has spent the bulk of this time with the right to a salary, although the law only allows you one month's rest. Nevertheless, things are different here, at least for Liljana. If Liljana were not the only one. People come and go how and when they please at ATA today. For instance, you can find all kinds of cars with black and white license plates in the square in front of the building. Their presence and the police sentry at the door make the calm on Marsel Kashen Street more striking. ATA waits. It is waiting for restructuring....

Victims of Persecution at ATA, Too

Taqo Zoto, director of ATA and 10 years in the job, is extraordinarily calm and collected as he talks.

"Many of my friends have been surprised and have often asked me why nobody has attacked ATA."

His voice is very assured, just like all his connections with high places always used to be. The ATA directors were hand-picked men with good resumes.

"That girl who complained in your newspaper also has friends in high places," Zoto says.

He talks about the girl who complained, and forgets.... Enver Hoxha's daughter-in-law, and Comrade Gogo Nushi's son. This could not have been any different, however. It was understandable that you needed Marxist-Leninists to collect and disseminate Marxist-Leninist news.

The amazing thing is that there are also victims of persecution at ATA (!). Chief Engineer Flamur Kallciu is one of these. Kallciu says emotionally that the communist regime took his land. Perhaps he means it. If democracy gave him his land back, he would be rescued by technology from his awful work. They say that new technology comes in one door and goes out the other. The same happens when you go to study abroad. Therefore Kallciu is persecuted. There is nothing wrong in that. Everyone is trying to become a victim of persecution these days.

Restructuring Under Discussion for 10 Years

As in every other institution, the word you most often hear in the offices and corridors is "restructuring." Zoto has been using this word himself since at least last November. One gathers that this restructuring will be multidimensional. This sounds like pretty hard work but not impossible, especially since ATA's computerization has been under discussion for 10 years now. This technical aspect of renovation looks so complicated only because certain documents are missing. These concern a UNESCO project. Some people say $400,000 and others $169,000. Both versions agree that only $25,000 was spent, $12,000 of it on training.

We have some of the documents at our disposal, but because they are not complete we must leave many questions aside. We also decided to leave them aside because the director (who has worked all his life according to orders and instructions), did not hesitate to explain the law to us. Because this is not small beer, however, but a matter of tens of thousands of dollars (which indeed may have been spent on beer and skittles), we decided to say something.

When we asked the director about the thousands of dollars granted for computerization, he shrugged his shoulders, and replied, "You have got the figure wrong, but let's look at the documents. They are over there." The director could not remember the figure or the year. He struggled to remember something, but in vain. He talked to us about two Indian engineers (from UNESCO) who came to ATA a few years ago, but Gezim Nushi had dealt with this business.

For the sake of the truth, it must be said that Nushi was ready to provide us with an explanation, if only orally. He admitted that $169,000 was initially granted, of which only $25,000 was used. The main reason for UNESCO's withdrawal was the United States' withdrawal from UNESCO in 1988. Nushi too, although he was closely involved in this matter and often traveled abroad for training, does not remember anything precisely but adds that "documents exist." We could nevertheless find nothing in the archive apart from an unfiled sheet (found entirely by accident) on which the Foreign Ministry informed ATA about the tests carried out in Paris on the equipment delivered as part of the first phase of the UNESCO-funded project. The tests were successful. The text also asked for an immediate reply about the use of the $10,000 granted for training (!).

We described the technical difficulties that arose because of a lack of documents. One is consoled by the fact that both the director and Comrade Nushi say that documents exist. Not wishing to doubt the truth of their assertion, we would like to remind them here that the place for documents is the archive and that it would be nice if they sent these documents, if they are gathering dust in their own offices, to the proper place. We regretfully point out that it does no honor to this important institution to find documents in other places, for example in the office of our newspaper, that are not present in its archive.

Although the UNESCO plan collapsed, efforts to complete the computerization continue at the same speed as 10 years ago. The ADA firm now has the contract and $114,000 has been granted. The contract was signed on 1 August 1991 and 10 monthly payments should have been paid by now. We say "should," because they have not yet been paid.

Is there not a danger that the firm will sue ATA for breach of contract?

"We worry about this too," Kallciu said. "We have worked hard to make these payments." If this matter really goes to court, we are not sure how far the attorney will be able to prove his client's sincerity.

ATA's Kamez Branch

To the right of the Agricultural University, there is a 90-hectare area fenced on all four sides and containing very striking high antennae. This is the radio station of Kamez, a branch of ATA. The entrance is guarded by soldiers and policemen. They guard obsolete technology that is no longer of any use to anybody.

They said that a few years ago this radio base was connected with 45 foreign news agencies, but is now linked with only two...(!) They say that this land is administered by the Public Order Directorate, for whom a brigade of peasants works for a ridiculous wage like the serfs of long ago.

The high antennae that claw the air are redundant. The scattered pill-boxes and the white-kerchiefed women hunched over the furrows, toiling for a mouthful of bread, convey the impression that nothing has yet changed.

ATA is sunk in troubles and problems. Old structures. A bloated staff. Incompetent people. Of course, it is Article 24 that will help most in restructuring this Red oasis. It cannot solve everything, however, and is entirely powerless in the face of financial problems. We hope that the long-suffering ATA does not have other problems, and has not become involved, for instance, in the wholesale and retail cigarette trade.

Deputy Prime Minister Assesses EC Talks

AU2505184292 Sofia BTA in English 1740 GMT 25 May 92

[Text] Sofia, May 25 (BTA)—Mr. Ilko Eskenazi, deputy prime minister in charge of the coordination of the activities of the economic ministries and leader of the Bulgarian delegation to the negotiations on Bulgaria's association to the European Community, set forth the stand of the Bulgarian delegation at these negotiations before the participants in an international meeting on the setting up of a Bulgarian Section with the Association of European Journalists.

The first round of talks on Bulgaria's associations to the EC has been successfully completed. According to preliminary information, the second round has been scheduled for June 11 and 12. Many Western observers stressed in their commentaries the indicative fact that the second round of the negotiations has been scheduled to be held so soon.

For Bulgaria the most important part of the agreement is its chapter on economic cooperation, Mr. Eskenazi said. According to him, there are no major differences between the two sides to the negotiations and an acceptable draft could be worked out quickly. The Bulgarian delegation has offered for discussion several problematic issues, including the issue of the free movement of people in compliance with the legislation of the EC-member countries. "We will insist on some guarantees in this respect. Here we do not mean free emigration. It is known that the people of Eastern Europe, especially the Bulgarians, are disappointed by the fact that after having spoken for so many years about free travel, the West is now imposing a number of restrictions," Mr. Eskenazi said.

Mr. Eskenazi stressed that the model of the future agreement on Bulgaria's association to the European Community includes a text on this country's achievements in the field of democracy and human rights. "The Commission of the European Community proposed to add a sentence concerning the rights of the minorities because it is known that in Bulgaria there are no real ethnic tensions," he said. Vice-Premier Eskenazi stressed the necessity for the commission to specify the term "rights of the minorities" because now there are two points of view on this issue—the French and the Anglo-Saxon.

According to Mr. Eskenazi, the most important part of the forthcoming agreement is the liberalization of the movement of goods and naturally the main problems concern the quotas and the patterns of the liberalization of customs duties. He informed that the Bulgarian delegation has proposed for the term of liberalization to be reduced as much as possible because of the fact that Bulgaria started the negotiations on its association later than the already associated Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia.

"If the term for the liberalization of customs duties is five years, Bulgaria will insist that in its case it be reduced to four years. Otherwise we will lag not one but four or five years behind the other three countries," he explained.

The Bulgarian delegation hopes that the Commission will show understanding for the difficulties which Bulgaria is now experiencing in its export as a result of the disintegration of the former Soviet market and would give Bulgarian goods which correspond to the requirements of the Community a somewhat wider access to the European market. "This country is not in a state to improve the structure of its production, to raise the quality of its output and adapt it to other markets in such a brief period of time" Mr. Eskenazi said, pointing out, however, that this is not a question of charity.

SDS Accused of Sacrificing Ministers

AU2605094692 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 21 May 92 p 4

[Krasimir Tsigularov article: "After the Ministers, the Lions Enter the Arena"]

[Text] Very quickly, and quite unexpectedly for the public at large, the fathers of the Bulgarian economic reform have begun to part company with their cabinets. Until recently the latter were furiously defended and declared to be the only ones capable of setting the rapidly disintegrating economy in order, but now they are beginning to bear the brunt of harsh blows and accusations that they defend personal or clan interests. The first illustrative example is Dimitur Ludzhev, who was previously imposed despite resistance from Podkrepa, but now faces pressure from his fellow members in the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]. To the sound of the firmly conducted blue [SDS] orchestra, he was sent out into the arena. Soon afterwards the gate opened from which the lions were to appear.

It appears that the same path is being followed by Ivan Pushkarov, who, following the vote against him cast by the SDS parliamentary group declared his disgust with politics. He also hinted at the reason for his disgust, namely the exceptionally fierce struggle for the right to control privatization.

Everything that is happening in Bulgarian politics today only further complicates the still unrealized aims of the economic reform. During the six months preceding the formation of the new government, short-term political interests have halted the course of the transformations. For another six months following this, the cabinet formed by the ruling coalition did not find it necessary to identify the essence of the problems in detail, nor to listen to advice from within and outside, nor to attempt to breathe life into the expiring production.

Quite the contrary, the government insinuated with all its strength that opposition by the undismantled structures was the reason for the failures. The trouble is that

these structures are now disappearing, yet the problems remain. The Bulgarian statesmen have simply failed to understand what this state is and what its interests are. On the other hand, they understood very well what their personal interests were in governing the state.

At the moment, when the economic principles that they violently trampled underfoot have given a sharp reminder of their existence, when the world outside also realized that we are trying to pull the wool over their eyes with some kind of reforms and demanded that we should pay our debts, everything has been delayed. Bread has become scarce and very expensive. It was high time to put on some spectacles.

Accordingly, present and former ministers, and even ministers of the distant past are thrown into the arena, usually after they have been deprived of the right to defend themselves. Like lions, the new candidates gaze at them hungrily from the gate. However, so far there is no sign of any candidates who will work for the state.

Trade Unions Refuse To Accept 'New' Cabinet

AU2605093792 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 22 May 92 p 4

[Commentary by Ekaterina Popova: "Duel Between Government and Trade Unions Ended One Goal to Nil; Return Match Lies Ahead"]

[Text] The trade unions have failed to overthrow Filip Dimitrov's government, at least for the time being. They were betrayed by their "friends" from the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS], who deceived them up to the very last minute, while their own parliamentary lobby preferred to keep the goodwill of its big blue [Union of Democratic Forces, SDS] brother instead of defending the trade union viewpoint.

Thus, the trade unions have been left in isolation, in spite of the fact that they joined forces with the employers a few hours before the fatal vote in the National Assembly. The voice of the new two-headed commission will no doubt remain a voice in the wilderness, because the new-old cabinet will hardly be glad to hear the negative assessment of its social partners on the government's record so far. Furthermore, it certainly will not like the claims made by the trade unions and employers for active participation in the privatization.

In actual fact, the blue cabinet's anti-trade-union policy helped the trade unions to some extent. Apart from making it easier for them to reach an understanding with the employers, the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria [KNSB] and the Podkrepa Labor Confederation found a common language, something that would have been unthinkable even a month ago.

At the start of May the KNSB attempted to show self-initiative and declared its readiness for effective actions in defense of trade union interests. The question of a strike was supposed to be finally decided on 20 May by the KNSB Coordinating Council. However, consultations with Podkrepa quickly cooled the ardor of the Independent Trade Unions. The meeting of the Coordinating Council was postponed, and journalists were accused of wrongly interpreting the decision reached by the KNSB Executive Committee.

The strike disappeared into the background. Incidentally, pessimistically minded trade unionist consider that the trade unions are avoiding this issue not only because of their unwillingness to destabilize the economy. It is said that the KNSB and Podkrepa would find it almost impossible to organize a national strike at the moment, even by pooling their efforts. The strike committee structures of the KNSB have still not been fully consolidated following the recent conflicts in the National Strike Committee. It is also reported that conflicts exist within the Podkrepa Labor Confederation.

In actual fact, the question of a strike will disappear of its own accord if the DPS manages to force the formation of a completely new government. If this is not the case, the KNSB and Podkrepa will either have to retreat, or will have to take up arms openly against Filip Dimitrov's team. The appointment of Podkrepa activist Rumen Bikov as minister of trade will in no way prevent the trade union confederation from acting against him if necessary, Podkrepa leaders claim.

For the time being, the trade unionists welcomed only one of the changes made in the cabinet, namely the designation of Health Minister Nikola Vasilev as deputy prime minister for social partnership. Otherwise, the government is not new in their view, and they have no intention to allow it any time to adapt itself.

Article Doubts New Government 'Will See Summer'

AU2605101492 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 22 May 92 p 8

[Ruen Krumov article: "How Long Will Second Government Last?"]

[Text] Filip Dimitrov's government, formed on 8 November 1991, lasted only 6 months and 12 days. After a cabinet crisis that lasted almost 1 month, rather a lot of noise in the media, and many bluffs, first of all on the part of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS], which is supposed to have the balancing role, the cabinet underwent just slight cosmetic surgery. The structural changes, promised for such a long time, turned out to be the increase in the number of deputy prime ministers from two to four, who will be in charge of the powerful ministries, the economy, culture, and relations with the trade unions; the division of the superministry of industry and trade into two ministries of industry and of trade; and renaming the Ministry of Agriculture the Ministry of Agrarian Development, Use of Land, and Restoring Land Ownership.

Numerous deputy prime ministers were a typical feature of the communist regime. Normal democratic states such as the United States, the UK, France, and so forth, whose population and economic potential surpass many times those of Bulgaria, either have no such posts, or there is only one deputy prime minister.

Filip Dimitrov's first government consisted of 15 ministers and included two representatives of each the Democratic Party and the Social Democratic Party (led by Ivan Kurtev), and one representative each of the Radical Democratic Party and the Green Party, later renamed Conservative Ecological Center, the United Democratic Center, the "Ecoglasnost" Movement, the Federation of the Clubs for Democracy, and the Alternative Social Liberal Party. In addition, the cabinet included five nonparty members. In the meantime, one of them, Svetoslav Luchnikov, became a member of the Radical Democratic Party, and thus that party increased the number of its representatives in the cabinet to three. Three members of the previous cabinet are not entering the new one: Dimitur Ludzhev, (Federation of the Clubs for Democracy), Ivan Pushkarov, (Social Democratic Party), and Stanislav Dimitrov, (Democratic Party).

Filip Dimitrov's second cabinet contains 17 ministers, seven of whom are new. (Ilko Eskenazi, Aleksandur Stalıyski, Rumen Bikov, Aleksandur Pramatarski, and Georgi Stoyanov). Four of those five new ministers are members of the National Assembly, and will have to be replaced there.

The Democratic Party has most members—three—in the new cabinet. They are Aleksandur Staliyski, Vekil Vanov, and Aleksandur Pramatarski, who was a representative of the Green Party in the Grand National Assembly. The Radical Democratic Party (Elka Konstantinova and Stanislav Luchnikov), the Alternative Social Liberal Party (Nikolay Vasilev and Rumen Bikov), and the United Democratic Center (Stoyan Ganev and Ilko Eskenazi), each have two members in the cabinet. The Conservative Ecological Party (Filip Dimitrov), "Ecoglasnost" (Valentin Vasilev), and the Social Democratic Party (Aleksandur Aleksandrov), have one representative each. Five ministers (Ivan Kostov, Yordan Sokolov, Nikola Vasilev, Nikola Karadimov, and Georgi Stoyanov) are not members of any party.

Filip Dimitrov fulfilled his promise and removed Dimitur Ludzhev from the post of minister of defense. However, he did not present any evidence of Ludzhev's guilt. I doubt it whether the new minister of defense, the lawyer Aleksandur Staliyski, understands better than his predecessor the issues related to national security. However, Filip Dimitrov forgot his threat that no deputy related to the trade unions will become a minister. The new minister of industry, Rumen Bikov, is a member of the Podkrepa lobby. On the other hand, the DPS unexpectedly relinquished its categorical positions, according to which it was supposed to support Dimitur Ludzhev to the end and request voting by name on every minister. I personally view with great suspicion this "inexplicable love" between the Dogan-Ludzhev-Trenchev trio, especially against the background of the fact that only until a few months ago Trenchev was a fierce enemy of Ludzhev's.

Filip Dimitrov did not present a report on his work until now. In addition, he did not present a program for his new cabinet, and he insisted on a secret vote and on adopting the new structural and personnel changes en bloc. Contrary to many expectations, he was unanimously supported by the majority of the Union of Democratic forces [SDS] and the DPS.

The confrontation between the government's majority and the opposition remained total and absolute. This does not bode well, despite the triumphal notes in the speeches of the prime ministers and Aleksandur Yordanov. Obviously, Filip Dimitrov and his second government have no intention to change their current policy, which has divided the people into incredibly rich and painfully poor.

I do not think that this government will last long. Dr. Trenchev received only one ministerial head and persists in his negative attitude toward the new government. On behalf of the DPS, Yunal Lyutfi requested immediate consultations on renewing the cabinet and even on forming a new government. Despite the fact that the prominent politician Aleksandur Yordanov promised a beautiful day, I doubt it whether this government will see the summer.... Another chance to build bridges was missed. The lethal policy of absolute confrontation, which only intensifies our people's suffering, will continue. Despite the fact that no one in the present National Assembly is interested in holding general elections soon, such elections could become imperative even before the end of the year.

Vasilev, Trade Unions Hold 'Unofficial' Talks

Tripartite Agreement Discussed

AU2505174992 Sofia BTA in English 1554 GMT 25 May 92

[Text] Sofia, May 25 (BTA)—Deputy Prime Minister Nikola Vasilev today held unofficial consultations with the leaders of the two major trade union amalgamations—Dr. Konstantin Trenchev of the Podkrepa Labour Confederation and Prof. Krustyu Petkov of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria (KNSB), and with the chairman of the Bulgarian Industrial Association, Mr. Ivan Andonov. The possibilities for continuing the tripartite social dialogue were discussed at the meetings.

Deputy Prime Minister Nikola Vasilev described his talks with Dr. Trenchev, Prof. Petkov and Mr. Andonov as constructive because each of them is ready for partnership.

As Mr. Vasilev told journalists before today's session of the Council of Ministers, the consultations discussed the structure of a new Tripartite Commission, the "top tier" of which would be a so-called National Council for Social Partnership. The council will engage in issues related to employment and the living standard. Its decisions will be adopted by consensus, which presupposes that each side, the government included, should make firm commitments.

Mr. Vasilev said that an official meeting on the establishment of the National Council for Social Partnership will be held by the end of the week. The wish of all who took part in today's consultations is for the first official session of the National Council for Social Partnership to be held as soon as possible, the vice-premier said.

'Points of Difference' Settled

AU2605203692 Sofia BTA in English 1957 GMT 26 May 92

[Text] Sofia, May 26 (BTA)—After yesterday's unofficial parallel consultations held by Deputy Prime Minister Nikola Vasilev, the trade unions and the employers on the social dialogue problem, today the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria [KNSB] received an offer from him for the establishment of a national social partnership council, the president of the KNSB, Prof. Krustyu Petkov, told a BTA reporter.

The leaders of the KNSB are unanimous that the deputy prime minister's offer satisfies their requirements. The points of difference have been settled and we can start negotiations with the government, Prof. Petkov said.

Mr. Nikola Vasilev suggested that the social partners hold their first official meeting on Friday [29 May]. Until then the KNSB is expected to coordinate its positions with the Podkrepa Labour Confederation and the employers. An appointment has already been made with Podkrepa, Prof. Petkov said.

The KNSB leadership believes it has received a mandate from its members, should the negotiations with the government fail, a national strike will be declared, Prof. Petkov said. According to an opinion poll held with the KNSB organizations, 58 percent of its members are ready to go on strike if a compensation agreement is not signed. However, KNSB leader Krustyu Petkov hopes that an agreement with the government will be reached by the end of June and there will be no strike.

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Today Deputy Prime Minister Nikola Vasilev had a meeting with representatives of the Podkrepa National Trade Union (Podkrepa NTU), BTA learned from the Podkrepa NTU.

The two sides discussed the status of the national council for social partnership, the compensations problem and the problem of the property of trade unions. The Podkrepa NTU leaders expressed the opinion that the Podkrepa Labour Confederation should move out of the building in Bistritsa it occupied some time ago, and that the property of the KNSB should be distributed among all trade unions.

When parliament passed the Totalitarian Parties and Organizations Property Act under which any such property is to be reversed to the state, the KNSB, which is the assignee of the former state-controlled and only one trade union organization in Bulgaria, suggested a division of its property, but the Podkrepa Labour Confederation categorically declined the proposal.

Vasilev Interviewed on Importance of Dialogue

AU2605100192 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 21 May 92 pp 1, 8

[Interview with Nikola Vasilev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, by Todor Lipanov in Sofia; date not given: "It Is Impossible To Manage Without Dialogue With Social Partners"]

[Text] After the session of the National Assembly the new deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, Nikola Vasilev, had to prepare himself for an urgent trip. Nevertheless, he agree to answer several questions by a TRUD reporter while he was walking along.

[Lipanov] Congratulations! As a minister of health protection you naturally will be in charge of the social sphere in the new government. However, you are gaining a new area of responsibility—relations with the trade unions and the employers. Do you already have a formula for resolving the complex problems in that triangle?

[Vasilev] There hardly is a magic formula. I think that mutually acceptable solutions and permanent dialogue are the basic elements we must seek in the triangle made up of the government, the trade unions, and the employers. I am convinced that we could achieve better results if we worked with less tension and with synchronized efforts. The three sides did make efforts until now. However, precisely because those efforts were not synchronized, they proved rather tiresome, inefficient, and incomprehensible to the public. I categorically believe that the contact must be permanent.

[Lipanov] Does that mean that you will insist on restoring the Tripartite Commission?

[Vasilev] It is not important whether we restore it in its old form, or in a new one. One way or another, in essence it is a tripartite dialogue. I spoke with the trade unions' leaders, and they are prepared to assume a part of the responsibility for decisions that affect their members. In a prudent dialogue, when national interests are involved, everyone must be ready to make compromises.

[Lipanov] When should we expect the first steps in this direction?

[Vasilev] I hope to implement the first contacts with the trade unions and the employers on Monday [25 May]. We shall show initiative in order to restart the engine of the new structure. The trade unions should determine what issue must be discussed first. They know best what are the most pressing needs of their members. I am sure there are many such problems....

[Lipanov] You certainly have ideas that you will try to implement and defend.

[Vasilev] I think that attention must be focused in three directions. First—coordinating the initiative in social legislation. So far everything in this area was a matter of piecework. Second I see the preparation of a national program on requalification and alternative employment. Last but not least—there is the national program on improving the standard of living. The most appropriate method would be to create interdepartmental commissions in charge of coordination the actions of the ministries. Until now the ministries acted in a very sporadic and uncoordinated manner.

[Lipanov] Are you an optimist? Your predecessor in the tripartite commission—Dimitur Ludzhev—often had to work hard to prevent the dialogue from being interrupted.

[Vasilev] Occasionally, I had the opportunity to observe the work of the Tripartite Commission. I know that it was not easy for anyone in that commission. However, I assumed my new obligations with a hope. I think that being aware of the interests of our society, which is renewing itself, we will find the right way. I am an optimist.

Tobacco Workers Strike Over Wages, Stagnation

AU2605093692 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 22 May 92 p 1

[Miglena Petrova article: "Tobacco Producers Strike; Export of Cigarettes Guaranteed"]

[Text] On 21 May representatives of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria [KNSB] and the Podkrepa Labor Confederation from Khaskovo, Plovdiv, and Blagoevgrad presented demands to the Council of Ministers in Sofia for the replacement of the management of Bulgartabak and free sale of tobacco products by the combines themselves. Production valued at 1 billion leva was lying idle in the warehouses, and in Khaskovo alone 496 million leva of goods remain unsold, the striking tobacco producers from throughout the country claimed in their declaration, which was handed to Deputy Prime Minister Ilko Eskenazi. The strikers claim that 16,000 workers in the tobacco sector have received no wages for six months, and that the warehouses are overflowing. Mr. Eskenazi will demand a full report on the state of production and sales from Bulgartabak within three days.

Experts assert that it is not so easy to organize the free sale of cigarettes and tobacco by the combines themselves, because rigid regulations preserve a worldwide monopoly on the trade in tobacco products.

Isidor Lazarov, deputy chairman of Bulgartabak, stated that the causes of the strike were the considerable stagnation in the export of tobacco products and the likelihood of being left without work. The difficulties arise from the delay in signing the bank agreement and the holdup in the sale of 55,000 tonnes of cigarettes and 10,000 tonnes of tobacco to the Russian market. Mr. Lazarov added that the intergovernmental barter protocol between Bulgaria and Russia has lapsed, but Bulgartabak reached agreements with companies in Japan, Switzerland, Turkey, Iraq, and the United States for part of the credit lines extended to Russia to be used to cover the cigarette trading debts.

According to Bulgartabak representatives, despite the difficulties, Bulgartabak has regularly paid the wages of employees in unprofitable cigarette factories for four months.

Mr. Lazarov said that the strike had been called and the claims made at the very time when things were starting to take off. He said that next week 8,000 tonnes of finished products will be shipped by air and sea to Kazakhstan. A deal for a further 3,000 tonnes was recently concluded with the St. Petersburg City Council. and a 20,000-tonne contract has been signed with an Austrian company. He added that a letter of credit has been opened for 15 million dollars, and that the Austrian side will release a further tranche of 20 million dollars next week.

Britain's Major Discusses CSFR Joining EC

LD2705092492 Prague CSTK in English 0750 GMT 27 May 92

[Text] Prague May 27 (CSTK)—When Czechoslovakia joins the European Community (EC), it must be capable of competing with all its members, British Prime Minister John Major said in an interview with CSTK last night.

Besides economic results, Major said, the political stability of Central European countries is a necessary prerequisite for their admission to the EC.

In his opinion, it would not be wise to hasten the admission of Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia to the EC. One of the advantages of the association agreements, signed between these countries and the EC last December, is that they enable these countries to become competitive within a few years, and only then to become full-fledged EC members.

Major, currently on a tour of the "Visegrad Troika" countries, arrived for a two-day visit to Czechoslovakia yesterday.

Havel, Presidium Discuss Post-Election Timetable

AU2205143592 Prague CSTK in English 1425 GMT 20 May 92

[Text] Prague May 20 (CSTK)—The Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (parliament) Presidium, in the presence of Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel, today discussed the logistics of the constituent session of the House of the People and the House of Nations after the June 5-6 elections.

This is the last session of the Presidium in the parliament's two-year term. Havel terminated the spring session of parliament on May 7.

The separate constituent sessions of the two houses will be held June 25, when they will elect their bodies, including chairpersons. Later in the day or June 26, the houses will meet at their first joint session to elect the chair, the first deputy chairperson and other officials of the federal legislature.

On the same date, June 25 or 26, the Federal Government is expected to resign, but a new coalition government will not be formed immediately. The current government can remain in power through October 5 at the latest, according to the current Constitution.

The presidium today said it would be desirable for a new government to be appointed by Havel before the end of his term, but he himself is quite skeptical about this, and does not think that coalition talks will be concluded before July 3, when the election of a new president is scheduled to start. Under an amended law on presidential election, if no candidate is elected president in first two rounds (held within a fortnight span), new candidates will have to be proposed and a two-round election will be repeated. Havel, too can remain in office no longer than October 5. Besides Havel and Miroslav Sladek, chairman of the Assembly for the Republic-Czechoslovak Republican Party (SPR-RSC), several other people announced their candidacies for presidency, but later withdrew. Speaking with CSTK today, Havel said he will not fight to be president. "It is up to the new parliament whether it elects me or someone else", he said.

The parliament presidium today also decided to drop from its agenda debate on a Czech National Council (parliament) draft legislative measure to amend the Screening Law of October 4, 1991.

The proposed amendment would provide for the disclosure of the names of collaborators with the now-disbanded Secret Police (StB), who fought against the so-called internal enemy, and of their supervising officers.

Under the Screening Law, all former StB collaborators, high- ranking Communist Party officials and members of the former People's Militia (the party's paramilitary force) are banned from public posts until 1996. It does not provide for the disclosure of any names.

The Czech parliament adopted the draft amendment at the initiative of the Czech Government on May 4, after a list of journalists-former StB agents was leaked from the federal parliament and published by two Czech dailies.

Dienstbier Claims Hungarian Treaty Still Valid

LD2605191792 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1800 GMT 26 May 92

[Text] According to the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the 1977 treaty between Czechoslovakia and Hungary on the joint construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydrosystem and the associated treaty documentation is still in effect. This is the stand of our foreign ministry in response to Monday's declaration by the Hungarian news agency that the treaty had ceased to be valid.

The statement also points out that the note from the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the unilateral abrogation of the treaty does not have the legal standing that the Hungarian Government attached to it.

Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier informed Frans Andriessen, deputy chairman of the EC Commission, on Hungary's unilateral step concerning the termination of the validity of the 1977 treaty on the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydrosystem. The letter also contains the above mentioned stand of Czechoslovakia on this matter. Jiri Dienstbier also expressed the hope that the EC authorities in Czechoslovakia and Hungary will support the reaching of an acceptable solution.

Official Blames Hungary for Failure of Talks

AU2605114692 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 21 May 92 p 2

["hyk"-signed report: "End to Discrete Diplomacy?"]

[Text] "The Hungarian side bears responsibility for the fact that the trilateral dialogue on the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroelectric power project proposed by the EC could not be commenced in Vienna. We are disappointed that matters have turned out this way," Zdenko Pirek, CSFR deputy minister of foreign affairs, told a news conference in Prague yesterday.

At the same time he recalled the latest steps taken by the Hungarian and Czechoslovak sides with regard to the Gabcikovo issue. In this context he mentioned that Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall signed the government statement on the unilateral abrogation of the treaty on Saturday [16 May], that is, at a time when diplomatic activity concerning the Gabcikovo problem was culminating in Brussels.

It followed from Zdenko Pirek's words that, until yesterday, the Hungarian side had not informed the EC about its course of action. Having been acquainted with the development of the situation by the Czechoslovak side, Brussels expressed its great regret. Zdenko Pirek said that the Czechoslovak delegation left for Vienna provided with an extensive mandate and was ready to discuss all issues. "In the event of the Hungarian side respecting the EC's recommendation, the Czechoslovak Government was willing to consider halting the work and to correct the so-called 'C' variant," Zdenko Pirek said. According to his words, during the debate on Gabcikovo in the Hungarian Parliament, Minister Ferenc Madl did not even inform the deputies about the talks proposed by Brussels and merely read to them the government's statement, which was followed by applause.

"The very delay in putting the hydroelectric power station at Gabcikovo into operation causes a loss of seven billion korunas annually," Zdenko Pirek said. The damage is huge, according to him, but scarcely calculable because forfeited profit cannot be included in it. Apart from other losses, the immobilization of investment resources has cost 20 billion korunas thus far.

Asked by HOSPODARSKE NOVINY whether the Hungarian side's note contained any proposals for a specific solution, in addition to the decision to abrogate the treaty, Zdenko Pirek replied: "The material we received is in Hungarian and we have been studying it very carefully. The last, 40th page, of the Hungarian text contains proposals on what should happen after the validity of the 1977 treaty expires. The Hungarian side is ready to conclude a new contractual document, in which there would be no talk whatsoever about Gabcikovo but that would provide for ecological and water management solutions."

Dubcek Says Security Service Threatens State

LD2405211792 Prague CSTK in English 1937 GMT 24 May 92

[Text] Bratislava May 24 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak Federal Parliament Chairman Alexander Dubcek today said that some of the current activities of the Federal Interior Ministry and the Federal Security and Information Service (FSIS) can be seen as a sign that these two institutions could become "a state within a state", a threat to democracy and a law-observing state.

In an interview for the Slovak News Agency (TKSR), Dubcek was referring to a recent request by the federal police corps to the Czechoslovak News Agency (CSTK) for documents on Dubcek's activities in 1968 and his attitudes regarding the October 1991 screening law, which Dubcek refused to sign, saying it ran counter to Czechoslovakia's charter of fundamental rights and liberties.

Dubcek praised CSTK General Director Petr Uhl for refusing to pass over any documents. Uhl said the request was a provocation, adding that verification of Dubcek's stands in 1968 may be in accord with law, but any activity leading to a decision whether or not proceedings are to be taken against Dubcek for his present stands in his capacity of parliament head is an offence against parliamentary democracy.

Dubcek also said FIS Director Stefan Bacinsky declined to clarify to him some matters before the parliament's recent discussion of a report on the screening of journalists. "Here the question arises in whose service are these bodies working", Dubcek said.

Ministry Justifies Investigation of Dubcek

AU2505145792 Prague CSTK in English 1752 GMT 21 May 92

[Text] Prague May 21 (CSTK)— The fact that the Czechoslovak Police Corps (FPS) chief investigator requested from the Czechoslovak News Agency (CSTK) documents on the 1968 activities of Federal Parliament Chairman Alexander Dubcek is in line with the criminal code, Federal Interior Ministry Spokesman Martin Fendrych said today.

In an interview with CSTK, Fendrych said it depends on the investigator which documents he uses and from whom he requests them.

The FPS chief investigator, Petr Faltus, yesterday sent a letter to Petr Uhl, CSTK director-general, asking him to provide the FPS with materials of August 1968 which contain statements by the then Czechoslovak Communist Party First Secretary Alexander Dubcek at talks in Moscow, and Dubcek's stand on the screening law passed in October 1991. (The talks were held after the 1968 Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia by five Warsaw Treaty member states, and Dubcek, together

with other Czechoslovak politicians, signed there a document which approved the invasion).

Though only the 1968 activities and statements by Czechoslovak representatives are to be verified (in response to suggestions of citizens), Faltus also asked Uhl to provide transcripts of German President Richard von Weizsaecker's speeches during visits to Czechoslovakia in 1990 and 1991.

Describing Faltus' demand as a provocation, Uhl said the verification of Dubcek's stands in 1968 can be in accord with law, but any activity leading to a decision whether or not criminal proceedings are to be launched against Dubcek for his current stands in the capacity of federal parliament chairman is an offense against parliamentary democracy.

Referring to Uhl's words, Fendrych said: "It is absurd and demagogic to view this (verification of Dubcek's stands) as an attack on the fulfillment of the fundamental duties of bodies dealing with citizens' criminal activities. Ignoring suggestions obtained from citizens would be a violation of the Criminal Code and the principles of democracy, Fendrych said.

He went on to say that under valid laws Uhl is obliged to immediately provide Faltus with documents.

Czechoslovakia's Senior Prosecutor Vladimir Nechanicky today told CSTK that the General Prosecutor's Office has received a number of complaints concerning responsibility of Dubcek and other Czechoslovak representatives for the invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968.

Nechanicky confirmed that Faltus' demand that he be given the 1968 documents necessary for the verification of the complaints is faultless.

Later in the day, Czechoslovak Deputy Interior Minister Jan Ruml told CSTK the Czechoslovak Police Corps (FPS) Investigative Department in Prague had requested transcripts of German President Richard von Weizsaecker's speeches from the Czechoslovak News Agency (CSTK) only with the aim to compare them with suggestions the FPS received from citizens.

Though the FPS is verifying the 1968 activities of certain Czechoslovak officials (in response to the citizens' suggestions), it must do so also in the case of Weizsaecker's speeches during his visits to Czechoslovakia in 1990 and 1991, as some of the suggestions refer to the speeches as well.

Ruml stressed that the CSTK was asked to provide the FPS with the materials only because the Federal Interior Ministry has none of them in its archives. "If we had known that someone else had them, we would have asked him," Ruml said.

Presidium Approves Compensation by Soviets

AU2205143992 Prague CSTK in English 1806 GMT 20 May 92

[Text] Prague May 20 (CSTK)—The Czechoslovak parliament Presidium today approved a legal norm on the compensation for the damage caused to Czechoslovak citizens by the 23-year presence of Soviet troops on Czechoslovak territory. (The last Soviet soldier left Czechoslovakia June 27, 1991).

Under the norm, Czechoslovak citizens must present claims concerning compensation for the damage to their property to the Federal Committee for the Environment by October 31.

The damages, estimated at 30 million korunas ($1 million), will be defrayed from the funds obtained by sales of Soviet Army real estate on Czechoslovak territory. (Czechoslovakia's ownership of the property was anchored in an agreement signed between the Czechoslovak and Russian Governments April 1, 1992).

The presidium rejected proposals to amend the Law on Small Businesses. One of the proposals, submitted by Deputy Eva Sahligerova (Civic Democratic Party—ODS) and Deputy Stefan Glezgo (Civic Democratic Union—ODU), provided for stricter rules to be introduced in Czechoslovak arms trade.

Economic Consequences of State Breakup Discussed

AU2405135992 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 20 May 92 p 2

["iv, tma"-signed report: "Division of the State—Freezing of Assets; Transfer of Capital Between the Republics Has Reportedly Started"]

[Text] Addressing a news conference in Bratislava on Monday [18 May], Chairman of the Slovak Christian Democratic Movement Jan Klepac spoke about freezing the property of CSFR citizens in the event of the breakup of the common state. After Vladimir Meciar, who in his recent statements espoused a program that is clearly heading toward the breakup of the common state, another influential Slovak politician thus seriously considered the issue of steps that would follow after the federation's destruction.

According to reports from behind the scenes, some citizens of Slovakia have reportedly begun to transfer their savings to banks in the Czech Republic in anticipation of the controversial [kontroverzni] development after the June elections. A possible Czech currency is likely to have greater stability than a Slovak one. These signals, which are surely known also in Slovakia, indicate that the division of the federation would trigger capital transfers from the east to the west. Therefore, it would be in the interest of the Slovak economy to halt these capital flows. However, the Czech side cannot afford to leave the situation without control, either. The growth of

tension would be followed by demands for cash withdrawals, which might jeopardize financial institutions, and by the danger of capital being taken out of the country. "If we tore out a bit from the 'worst-case scenario' drawn up for the first days of an organized divorce of the common state, we would find such a measure," Czech Deputy Prime Minister Jan Strasky said yesterday when replying to a question about the Czech Government's reaction. His position was endorsed also by Czech National Council Deputy Chairman Jan Kalvoda: "The freezing of the assets of corporations and individuals would be a quite logical and natural step."

According to Czech Deputy Prime Minister Strasky, the division of the state would greatly complicate coupon privatization: "It is not a problem when a foreign national owns shares issued in another state. Because of the given method of coupon privatization, in which the shares are handed out for what actually is a symbolic price, this would, however, become a problem if it happened between the new Czech and Slovak state entities. The matter would evidently become subject of complicated negotiations between representatives of the two states. However, that would be only one of many problems brought forth by the division of the state," Deputy Prime Minister Strasky said in this context.

Calfa Cited on Cost of Slovak Independence

AU2505064192 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 21 May 92 p 2

[CSTK report: " 'I Do Not Begrudge Slovakia Its Identity'; The Federal Prime Minister Visited the East of the Republic."]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted on Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa's tour of companies in East Slovakia] During a meeting with representatives of state administration and local self- administration bodies in Vranov nad Toplou, Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa stressed: "I do not begrudge Slovakia its identity, but not at the cost of the destruction of the common state and its defense, economy, and currency." As he pointed out, Slovakia's independence would immediately require 15 billion korunas plus $3 billion for foreign payments, money that simply is not available. In a situation when the currency is not covered by gold but by the performance of the economy, he said, in the Czech Republic the dollar would be traded for 28 korunas, as it is now, and in the Slovak Republic for 84 korunas. [passage omitted on Calfa's tour of more companies]

Calfa on Ukraine's Inclusion in Visegrad Troika

LD2605143392 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1000 GMT 26 May 92

[Excerpts] Before yesterday's visit to Ukraine by Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa, a demand by that country to participate in the Visegrad Troika [CSFR, Poland, Hungary] was discussed. Both Warsaw and Budapest gave positive answers. Whether this subject was discussed at yesterday's talks in Kiev between the Czechoslovak premier and Ukrainian officials was a question our editor Petr Voldan asked Marian Calfa after his return home. Here is the answer:

[Begin Calfa recording in Slovak] Of course, they raised this issue and this idea needed to be explained and specified, because when they were telling us about it they used the word integration. [passage omitted]

After their explanation I believe that what they had in mind was not integration but some form of cooperation, regional cooperation between neighbor countries. That is a natural form of cooperation. There is one problem and that is that in the framework of the Visegrad Troika we are at the same time coordinating our relations with the EC. That means that if the Ukraine joined us in this cooperation in some form it would not be able to take part in any higher-level forms of cooperation regarding the association status. We would have to find a different model for cooperation with Ukraine.

In other words, we are not against regional cooperation between neighbor countries but the form of this cooperation still needs to be found. [end recording]

Press Office Statement on Antall's Health

LD2205160192 Budapest MTI in English 1455 GMT 22 May 92

[Text] Budapest, May 22 (MTI)—The prime minister's press office today sent a statement to MTI about Prime Minister Jozsef Antall's health condition.

Referring to press rumours, the document says that the present state and treatment of the disease gives no real cause for speculation, but it is most common in public life that politicians make guesses about replacements on any posts. The question of succession did not actually come up either on the government's side or with regard to the presidium of the Hungarian Democratic Forum.

The statement includes the May 22 medical report issued by university professors Dr. Gyorgy Nemeth and Dr. Kalman Rak on behalf of the doctors' team commissioned with the prime minister's treatment from the beginning. According to the report, the prime minister suffers from a disease known as non-Hodgkins lymphoma. During the first year after surgery and the first treatment, no symptoms or complaints occurred. Antall is currently undergoing chemical treatment supplementary to x-ray therapy applied in January. At the present stage of scientific progress, treatment to be repeated a few times holds out a good chance of recovery. The recent control examination already indicated major improvement in his condition. Neither the basic disease with few symptoms nor the treatment obstructs the prime minister is carrying out his responsibilities, with his working capacity being satisfactory also from the medical point of view.

During the few days of the treatment, at fixed dates, foreign trips of longer duration do not seem advisable. His visits abroad between two courses of treatment went smoothly.

Prime Minister Antall Discusses Media, Illness

LD2405221792 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1105 GMT 24 May 92

[Interview with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall by correspondents Jozsef Szabo and Gyula Polgar; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] Is the prime minister satisfied with the first two years?

[Antall] If I were satisfied, I would not be a good prime minister of this country, I think, because not only a prime minister but any leader must view the past period with realistic dissatisfaction to some extent. There are problems which either as internal or external circumstances prevented us from making even faster, more successful progress. We must be aware of these and it is also obvious that the mistakes must be uncovered.

[Correspondent] Is there anything with which you are absolutely dissatisfied?

[Antall] Absolute dissatisfaction may be possible in that the speed of transformation in the social sphere can be hardly reconciled with the necessary reforms. The big dilemma here is that we must execute an economic turn which represents the country's future but which is of necessity unpopular. If we do not do this, we will make transformation impossible; whereas if we carry out this transformation, and do so quickly, we will create greater dissatisfaction because we must, on occasion, shake people out of their routine, their normal accomplishments, and their way of life.

[Correspondent] The government, obviously, time and again faces all kinds of unsolved social problems, troubles which—for known reasons—are increasing. I have in mind the growing poverty or that particular stratum which is becoming wealthier in a suspect manner, and the contrast between these two. Some say that certain measures aim only to put out the fire.

[Antall] There has always been poverty in past decades. He who says that poverty is appearing only now is lying. Here the responsibility of politicians, the press, and the mass media is very important. [passage omitted] As a teacher, I saw terrible poverty in past decades. I saw the financial situation my students were in, at a time that some people now remember as being wonderful. [passage omitted]

It is false to contrast the apparent but not real prosperity of recent years, which was only achieved by people making a living from the second or third economy and by the greater indebtedness of the country, with the situation now. There is poverty, we must fight it. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Still, you believe that many reasons still exist for people to be in a bad mood.

[Antall] Naturally. One reason is that the living standard of a proportion of Hungarian society has dropped as a result of the transformation, both in terms of unemployment and in other spheres. A certain stratum's standard of living also fell as a result of the poor economic management of past years, as well as, the external circumstances which the government of the time was not responsible, because external circumstances always exist.

The living standard of another stratum is stagnating. [passage omitted] The stagnation is creating a bad feeling.

Then there is another stratum whose standard of living is rising. Interestingly, those who earn more as entrepreurs do not speak about it. [passage omitted] The other stratum then is that of the workers, employees which, unfortunately, can always be controlled. They are in a bad mood too. Then there are those who have become disadvantaged through unemployment and other reasons.

[Correspondent] [passage omitted] Pessimism divides Hungarian society. The division may also lead to serious tragedy. How can a more optimistic mood be created, with what conditions?

[Antall] [passage omitted] As to how it is possible to fight pessimism—I believe there is joint responsibility. This is the essence of the issue. The objectives which are unchangeable, unavoidable must be ascertained jointly. We are not talking about the freedom of criticism here. [passage omitted] Our opponents say on the one hand that this or that should be done faster, that the government reneged on implementing these reforms. In the hope of succeeding us in office, they would like us to carry out the dirty work as fast as possible. We would receive all those political and psychological burdens which we create in society through unpopular measures. When we have accomplished these difficult unpopular tasks they could appear and then, in the rising curve—hoping it may be in harmony with the world economy—they would enjoy the benefits. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] How do you deal with the possible personal attacks? [passage omitted]

[Antall] I only hate lies and deliberate distortions. I have got so accustomed to it, however, that if in the morning I do not find lies of some kind or unpleasant remarks in a paper, I feel that something is missing. However, the press rarely allows me to do this. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] We should come clean and reveal what this economic turn, this acceleration means.

[Antall] [passage omitted] If the budget and the monetary spheres are linked, it demands a restrictive, financial austerity policy in order to reduce inflation. Inflation must be reduced, obviously, and I think that we have achieved results in this area. Inflation can be reduced only through restraining spending power and increasing exports and at the same time curbing budget expenditures. A certain degree of this is a precondition of economic stability. In this area, we must continue the restrictive policy we have been following and which was followed by the previous administration. [passage omitted] It means that budget deficits cannot go on increasing; there is a price to pay. Thus we achieved a drop in inflation—after last year's 35-37 percent, we can expect a 10-12 percent drop. At the same time, the consequence is that production has shrunk and revenues are falling.

Meanwhile, a rigid policy restricts real economic growth; growth demands a certain modification of this policy. [passage omitted] A so-called enterprise-friendly environment must be created in the tax system, in social insurance obligations, and other areas.

The essence of all this is that a restrictive, monetary, austerity policy, which halts inflation on the one hand, while on the other, walks such a narrow path—a tightrope—for the achievement of economic growth means that we will only get criticized. [passage omitted] Still, I can see the end of the tunnel really if external or internal circumstances—that is, social conflicts or even politically destabilizing factors—do not stop this process. Thus by the end of the year the process could begin—the possibility for a new situation to be created regarding slow growth does exist.

[Correspondent] The issue of the press is constantly talked about. The problem of the media presidents is widely argued. To a certain extent, the dispute around the media presidents has sharpened relations between the president and the prime minister. [passage omitted] Do you see a way out of this impasse?

[Antall] This is not a personal question. I am tied to Arpad Goncz not only by an acquaintance of several decades, but also by friendship. It is obvious that these political conflicts do not necessarily serve our personal relations well. [passage omitted] I am convinced that there is no link between the violation of the press freedom and the dismissal proposal based on Law No. 57 of 1990 adopted by a two-thirds majority. Thus, I cannot approve the explanation of the president when he rejected my proposal, as it was included in the government statement. In this context, I simply cannot accept it in this form. This means that if within the present legal framework, or if even the National Assembly, or with other legal explanations of other legal institutions, the revision or political solution of this is made possible. I obviously consider that correct. [passage omitted] There is also another very peculiar concept here: the problem of the decree of the Council of Ministers of 1974. If somebody questions earlier decrees, he questions the continuity of the constitutional state. What we can do today is to adjust the laws made in the past decades to the present situation. [passage omitted] Certain laws and regulations have to be maintained and this is where the law of 1974 also belongs. There is a special legal situation that has evolved here: According to the Constitution, a two-thirds majority law should regulate the media. As a result, this Council of Ministers' decree is frozen. What remains and what is not in conflict with the Constitution, and about which a new law has not been presented, is still in force. There is no area of Hungarian life that cannot be regulated by some sort of law or rule, except for radio or television.

The other approach is very distorted, and in this I agree with President Goncz and others: There are more pressing issues than these internal problems of the media. It indicates some sort of distorted view that ideas, like the radio and television, can only exist with a six-party consensus. Well, if a six-party consensus were possible, then a one-party parliament should be established. The way a multi-party democracy operates is by compromise, but somewhere, the parliamentary majority has to claim responsibility. This is the point of the whole two-thirds majority law. The second issue is: what kind of degeneration, what kind of astounding overexpansion exists if the parliament can elect the president of the republic with an absolute majority, with 50 plus one in the third round? But media presidents

want a near 100 percent consensus. Well, this is already part of the distortion by the intelligentsia. Naturally, there are major political interests behind this idea to make such a conflict out of it. Because the opportunity to create such a conflict lies with those who have an internal struggle regarding these questions, this is what they can reflect. This is why I do not agree that we should be dealing with this in this form. It is obvious that the media presidents have to head an organization free from direct outside party influences. But this cannot mean that they should be able to enforce earlier political trends or other opposition forces, or even governmental influences globally. So it is not that the government interferes, but this is about entailed properties [hitbizomanyok fidei-commissum] and certain other economic and political questions which cannot be handled like this. This is not the point; it can be the subject of political debate. The fact is that the freedom of the press is not affected by a procedure defined by parliament in a legal manner; this is obvious.

[Correspondent] So according to this, you do not share the view that Arpad Goncz betrayed the government coalition.

[Antall] He never belonged to the government coalition, thus I cannot state that he betrayed it. Arpad Goncz, as the president of the republic, has to be above parties, as head of state. [passage omitted] I trust that as president he will take stock of everything and the conditions of our cooperation will evolve accordingly.

[Correspondent] So you consider cooperation conceivable in future?

[Antall] Cooperation between the president, the prime minister, and the government, just like cooperation among other holders of public office, is in the interest of the state and the nation, but naturally, the appropriate political conditions for this have to be created. First of all, this has to be enforced according to the law. Here, in fact, the interpretation of the law plays a very important role. [passage omitted] I would like to emphasize that those who call the Constitution a Stalinist constitution commit a grave error against the truth. Hardly anything is left from the original constitution. This Constitution, in eastern-central European terms, is among the best ones. This is illustrated by the events taking place in the neighboring countries. This is a good constitution which naturally, has its shortcomings. These can be bridged, however, by the interpretations of the Constitutional Court. The interpretations of the Constitutional Court have to be observed, like it or not. Interestingly, certain opposition politicians loudly accused the government and the coalition of not taking any notice of the court's stances. When they do not feel that its is favorable to them, then they tend to ignore it. So I believe this is the point.

[Correspondent] What sort of changes do you see necessary in the relations of the government coalition and the opposition? The lack of a media law is proof that without important laws the country cannot be governed. To which laws would you give absolute priority in the next two years?

[Antall] It has to be stressed again that in the parliament, despite the way the public sees it, we carried out tremendous work. I can see certain difficulties in the parliamentary laws and our legislative approach; that is, we overtly insist, and this is a natural reflex following an era of dictatorship, that we want to pass a law on everything; whereas in the transitional period perhaps it would be easier to achieve results with a government decree, as that can be easily amended from one week to the next if problems arise. Naturally, it is of prior importance that in a constitutional state everything should be based on the law. [passage omitted] The laws to be adopted with a two-thirds majority, which were introduced by parliament recently as the democratization response to a one-party system, are simply a reflection of the present governing and parliamentary period. The two-thirds system does not allow the opposition to take real responsibility for what it is voting; it can only act as a paralyzing agent.

As we did not make the so-called Hungarian Democratic Forum-Alliance of Free Democrats pact, which was later acknowledged by the other opposition parties and the coalition parties, if we did not make this agreement on this basis and did not incorporate it into the law—and by the way, with this, the pact ended—then the alliance of Free Democrats was the first to announce that the pact has finished. If we did not resolve this issue, the country would have become ungovernable. Tension is caused by the fact that we want to implement a government program, but this program can be hindered by the two-thirds laws and the adoption of the house rules by two-thirds majority. [passage omitted] This is an endless circle, because in line with the two-thirds majority law, tension between the government coalition and the opposition is constantly growing and, at the same time, it becomes more impossible to achieve results by negotiation. Returning with one remark to the situation before the media law, it is very difficult to conceive that the dismissal, appointments, and selection of new people should take place with a six-party consensus, as Mr. Goncz wanted. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Let us turn to another subject: Gabcikovo. [passage omitted] The latest news is so alarming that the manager responsible for construction said that they would complete the project by October under any circumstances. What do you say?

[Antall] I would not like to take a different positions on this now because when diplomatic and external negotiations are at issue, it is not right to preempt certain issues. [passage omitted]

In Czechoslovakia, the elections are playing a great role in domestic political life just now, and what is more, in this feverish state of affairs, it is very difficult to analyze

these issues in greater depth. Unfortunately, we had to make a move in this period and could not wait.

[Correspondent] A few days ago it was reported in the U.S. press that a news blackout exists in Hungary about the health of the prime minister. [passage omitted]

[Antall] [passage omitted] I have so-called non-Hodgkins lymphoma—a cancerous ailment that requires regular treatment if symptoms reappear. We issued a statement on this. [passage omitted] Naturally, no one can guarantee that he will live for a certain length of time, of course. For me, the possibility exists that I will die for any reason at any time. I can say one thing: It does not hinder me at work and there is no one who would dare claim the contrary. Delaying or cancelling foreign trips—which I have done once or twice—also happens with others. [passage omitted] So long as I can fulfill my task well, reasonably well, or to some satisfaction, it is not the ailment that is the motivating force. [passage omitted]

Foreign Affairs Spokesman Holds Briefing

LD2605180892 Budapest MTI in English 1357 GMT 26 May 92

[Text] Budapest, May 26 (MTI)—Hungary has no territorial claims towards its neighbours, even if some of its neighbours cannot say they have no territorial claims, Foreign Affairs spokesman Janos Herman reconfirmed today.

Romania has used a method quite unusual in today's Europe, the "diplomacy" of personal insults, Herman said speaking about recent Bucharest accusations against Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky and Hungarian diplomacy. Herman recalled a 13 May statement by Romanian Foreign Affairs spokesman Traian Chebeleu, when Chebeleu spoke about Jeszenszky using a rude and reprimanding tone.

Also, Herman mentioned an interview with Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase in the 25 May issue of the weekly ROMANUL, in which Nastase spoke about Jeszenszky in an unacceptable tone and distorted the aims of Hungarian foreign policy. Hungary was astonished to hear these statements as they have repeatedly asked Romania to hold official consultations to avoid misunderstandings and useless public debates.

During last week's visit here by Romanian Foreign Affairs State Secretary Teodor Melescanu, the sides repeatedly agreed the two foreign ministries will enter into direct talks before making any statements to the press. Bearing this agreement in mind, Mr. Nastase's 25 May statement is inexplicable, Herman said. Hungary would like Bucharest to respond to those statements in which leading Hungarian politicians unambiguously voice the aims of Hungarian foreign policy, its endeavours and readiness for cooperation.

Questioning Hungarian diplomats, creditability does little good to otherwise balanced ties and confidence between Hungary and Czechoslovakia, Herman said. Czechoslovak Government officials have recently questioned Hungarian ambassadors, statements being official expressions of Hungary's decision to unilaterally cancel a 1977 inter-state agreement on the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydropower dam.

The Hungarian Foreign Ministry wants to stress that all statements by Hungarian ambassadors and diplomats must be considered official, Herman said. Also, Hungary is ready to start talks with Czechoslovakia as soon as possible to settle the consequences of the 1977 inter-state treaty's cancellation, and to solve ecological, flood prevention and navigation problems in the region, Herman said.

As of 12 June 1992, Hungarian and Costa Rican citizens can travel to each other's countries without a visa and can stay for three months without any special permission, the two governments agreed in an exchange of memorandums on 13 May. Also, Hungary and Turkey have amended their visa agreement, so as of 20 June 1992, no visa will be needed either for holders of diplomatic passports or for those with service and special passports. As of 18 June 1992, Hungarian and Japanese citizens with diplomatic passports and those with foreign affairs service passports can travel to each other's countries without a visa, according to an agreement signed on 18 May here.

Further, Herman announced Hungarian President Arpad Goncz had appointed Istvan Balogh as Hungary's new ambassador to Ljubljana. Earlier, Balogh worked at Hungary's embassies in Ankara and Damascus.

Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Manh Cam will visit Hungary between 29 May and 1 June, as part of a European tour, Herman said. Between 31 May and 1 June, U.S. Deputy Secretary of the Treasury John E. Robson is to visit Hungary. Robson's visit is connected to a congress survey on the efficiency of aid projects extended to Hungary and Poland, Herman said.

Ukraine's Fokin, Minister Kadar Interviewed

LD2205213692 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1630 GMT 22 May 92

[Studio interview with Ukrainian Prime Minister Vitold Fokin and Bela Kadar, Hungarian minister of international economic relations, by unidentified correspondent on 22 May; Fokin speaks in Ukrainian with superimposed Hungarian translation; from the "Extra" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] At the invitation of Jozsef Antall, Ukrainian Prime Minister Vitold Fokin has spent two days in Budapest. I asked him to the "Extra" program today, at the conclusion of his talks with Bela Kadar, minister of international economic relations. [passage omitted]

It is now necessary to reconstruct and transform the Ukrainian economy. Naturally, it is not you who is doing this, but you must nonetheless direct it. Isn't this difficult, with planning office traditions? Or perhaps you had so many unpleasant experiences in the planning office in the past that it is easier to decide what not to do now?

[Fokin] You know, as a technical person I must say that there is nothing more complicated in technology than carrying out a 180-degree change of direction; that is, transposing the poles completely. In order to change, it is necessary to overcome incredible strains; it is overwhelming.

Properly speaking, this is also happening in society. We are changing the flow to the opposite direction; that is, we are carrying out a polar change in the state structure. We are radically changing production relations. We have decided that we must reach a free market system, and if I might express myself in this way, the imperfections of human nature are evident in this process. [passage omitted]

Over a period of 70 years, we realized that the socialist system, even if it enabled the state to exist, was unable to ensure a living standard comparable with Western countries. Now there is a market economy. Many people have seen goods displayed in Western stores. They have seen how well one can live under free market conditions, and naturally everyone would like to have these same goods right now, as if they had received them as an inheritance. In the meantime they forget that capitalist society went through a long development. It overcame declines, crises. The current Western standard of living is the result of 300-350 years of development. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] I timed your talks and it seems that your political consultations with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall took less time than your economic talks. Is it more difficult to get economic questions sorted out?

[Fokin] Look, it has always been my opinion that economics is more important than politics. Politics must change the moment a certain goal is reached, but economic problems last forever. Successful economic policies should always result in an increase in the level of social protection and standard of living.

[Correspondent] How do you see the prospects for Hungarian-Ukrainian economic and trade relations?

[Fokin] I would say that Hungary changed economic direction much earlier than we did. It modified its economic policy and took considerable steps along the road to a market economy. [passage omitted] As a rational economist and politician, I think that you still have many difficulties ahead of you, but we can see the point clearly: The processes of transformation to a market economy are irreversible. This, for me, is the most important point in analyzing the situation of the Hungarian economy.

[Correspondent] What sort of possibilities are there for our trade relations at the moment?

[Fokin] These relations do not correspond to the potential ties. This is why we had such lengthy consultations with your finance and foreign economic ministers and with the president of the Hungarian National Bank. We would like the product lists not to remain just a list; we would like to see an actual exchange of these products; that is, we would like to see specific results of these consultations. I think that this will be successful.

[Correspondent] I think, however, that in this matter questions of payment are decisive.

[Fokin] Well, look, our chances of paying are slim right now. I am not revealing any secrets if I say that the foreign trade bank of the Soviet Union virtually robbed Ukraine and the other republics. [passage omitted] We are not only unable to repay foreign debts, although we have undertaken this and considered it necessary, but we are forced to buy the necessary raw materials for light industry for convertible currency. The oxygen was simply taken away from us. The process of transforming agreements and redirecting foreign partners to the Ukrainian National Bank will take a long time—a year, a year and a half perhaps. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Here is the view of Bela Kadar, the negotiating partner, on economic ties. [passage omitted]

[Kadar] It is not stating a generality to say that the Hungarian and Ukrainian economies are complimentary; this reveals itself in the figures. Hungary is a significant exporter of industrial goods to Ukraine and it purchases energy, coking coal, and raw materials for the metallurgical and heavy chemical industries. [passage omitted] Moreover, it is not a generality to state that Hungary's eastern supply line is routed through Ukraine—the pipelines, the rail, and road lines. Therefore, a cough in Hungarian-Ukrainian relations may cause a cold in our entire East European system of relations. Another factor is that Hungary is a extraordinarily important partner for Ukraine from an economic policy point of view, primarily through Hungary's experiences in opening the market. The Ukrainians show a greater readiness to learn from the Hungarian experience than their big northern neighbor, which relies more on American experience. Hungary is also important because it is the Western gate for Ukraine. This can create problems, too, because if Ukraine's foreign trade is reoriented geographically this will result in a great traffic burden on the already overloaded Hungarian rail and road network. [passage omitted]

Hungary ranks as Ukraine's fifth or sixth most important partner. In the first quarter, Hungarian exports to Ukraine amounted to $52 million and imports, a quarter of this. [passage omitted]

We have just signed a binding contract according to which Hungary and Ukraine will apply international

rules in bilateral trade and will change over to dollar payments. [passage omitted]

Exactly 50 percent of the modest bilateral trade in the first quarter was transacted through mediators, Western firms, including Austrian, Swiss, and German firms, which freed the Hungarian firms struggling against liquidity difficulties from financing problems. Another, more modest part of bilateral trade took place on a barter basis. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Regarding joint enterprises, will state enterprises mainly be involved?

[Kadar] From the Hungarian viewpoint, the answer is no. In Ukraine foreign economic management is now being transformed. Of course, one has to consider that in Ukraine the government's economic role is, and will be in the near future, much stronger in foreign economic processes than, for instance, it is in Hungary today. [passage omitted] Ukraine has been a very significant exporter of agricultural machinery for us and will be even more so in the future, when the development of the Ukrainian agriculture and food industry begins. Here we can utilize our experience and intellectual capital in Ukraine.

Jeszenszky Explains Role of Foreign Policy

AU2505091792 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 18 May 92 p 4

[Interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "Our Foreign Policy and the Economy"]

[Text] [Correspondent] Personally, I think that the greatest esteem is given to the Hungarian change of regime and Hungarian foreign policy when newly independent countries or countries fighting for their independence seek Hungary's help in their international recognition. This happened in the case of the Baltic countries and the member republics of the disintegrating Yugoslavia.

[Jeszenszky] We undoubtedly have respect. Mainly because the disbanding of the Warsaw Pact began at Hungary's initiative and the Soviet troops were withdrawn quickly. Let us not forget that the troops of the now nonexistent Soviet Union are still present in the Baltics just as the troops of the nonexistent Yugoslavia are in Croatia.

[Correspondent] Nevertheless, most people see the government's work, including the activities of the Foreign Ministry, as very superficial. The critics claim that all you do is travel at public expense, although, in my view, we are living in an extremely complicated international situation where we must govern and conduct our politics independently and calmly.

[Jeszenszky] This is very true. In the communist era, and in fact, in all dependent regimes, foreign policy is a protocol and pseudo function. In Hungary's case, we could not talk about independent foreign policy until the end of the 1980's.

[Correspondent] However, many people are saying that America and Germany are guiding us now.

[Jeszenszky] I must refute this most categorically. Naturally, we are given recommendations according to the various interests and we discuss these. Everyone is trying to defend his own preferences. That is natural. For 500 years, since the battle of Mohacs [1526, lost against the Turks], Hungary has not had real independence and, apart from the period between the two world wars, foreign troops have always been stationed here. If we look at the events of the past centuries and compare them with the events in 1990-91, we will see that the latter were a landmark in our history. We have not had such a situation for centuries. The prime minister has also referred to the fact a number of times that, since King Matthias [at end of 15th century], he is the first Hungarian head of government who does not receive orders and is not forced to act under constant foreign pressure. This also shows how much responsibility is placed on the people who are trying to fill this liberated space. A small nation is incredibly dependent on the external world and its goodwill both in economic and political relations. Hostility can cause immeasurable damages. Just look at the situation after World War I and Trianon. We were in desperate need of goodwill then. Many things can be said to be vitally important for the future of the nation. Education can be first, or the economy, and in our view, foreign policy is equally important.

[Correspondent] Although there are very many signs of the foreign policy producing income for the nation, my experience is that people cannot see the everyday value of the work of the ministry.

[Jeszenszky] When we came to power, our foreign policy goals were set out as becoming the ally of the whole of Europe and the democratic world, as opposed to the forced ties of the Warsaw Pact. It is indispensable for us to have as close and confidential relations as possible mainly with the democratic and the developed countries, if for no other reason than for the interests of the economy. It was not easy to achieve this goal, because the results of the elections were unexpected for many. We found ourselves facing a lot of prejudices and malicious rumors in the world. We even had to convince our partners that communism had ended. Many people did not believe it.

[Correspondent] We cannot deny that many Hungarians do not believe this, either.

[Jeszenszky] Yes. Communism is actually a mentality that was coupled with foreign rule. We have had to prove that we think differently from them, and in contrast to them, we are committed to the market economy, and I could mention many other factors. The trouble is that we

either let ourselves to be misled or we are very pessimistic as always and do not notice or do not want to notice that the conditions for change exist. They judge from the presence of communists and not from the changed mentality. In the two years since the elections, we managed to convince the world about the changes. Thousands, and even tens of thousands of businessmen and politicians have visited us to gain experience. The first part of our work has ended very successfully. Political relations with precisely the aforementioned democracies have become very intense and confidential. This also means that at the international negotiations that are most important today, and which are not so much bilateral but which take place in a multilateral diplomatic arena—the United Nations, the Helsinki process, NATO, or other European organizations—we meet with understanding. For a country to make its interests prevail here, it has to gain the agreement of other states. At these places where the important decisions are made, Hungarian interests can only prevail if they are known; if countries are aware of the special Hungarian interests; if they know, for example, that there are Hungarian national minorities that have problems, or if they know what difficulties arose from the collapse of the former enforced eastern market links for the Hungarian economy. This could have led to a complete collapse.

We managed to avoid this and redirect the Hungarian economy to Western markets. To achieve this, the entrepreneurs had to notice the problems and the other side had to be receptive. From this point of view, it was very important that the associate membership with the EC signed at the end of 1991 became effective in March 1992. This ensures the opening of the most developed western countries's markets over a 10-year period. Hungarian industry would not be able to withstand the competition very well—we saw what happened to East Germany—therefore, we will only open the Hungarian market gradually. This forces us to catch up. All this could hardly have been achieved without diplomatic negotiations and efforts.

Multilateral trade and openness have always brought wealth in peacetime. That is why a Europe without borders is important for us, as is the establishment of a manifold system of relations with the former socialist countries that were ruined just as we were.

Walesa Calls for Replacement of Government

LD2605181192 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1700 GMT 26 May 92

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, a moment ago we received a report from our reporter in the Sejm. Jan Olszewski's press conference planned for 1815 was not held and it has been deferred until 2000, as the prime minister has gone to take part in a meeting of the Sejm Presidium.

[Reporter] Journalists at the Sejm Presidium meeting were made acquainted with the contents of the letter which Lech Walesa, president of the Polish Republic, sent to Premier Olszewski. Here is the text of the letter:

Dear Mr. Speaker, I have many times emphasized the need to formulate a program for the construction of the Third Republic and its consistent implementation. In my recent address in the Sejm chamber I presented what in my opinion were the most important and the most urgent tasks which the country is faced with. Your letter to me indicated that you share the concern about the possibility of emerging from the impasse which Poland finds itself in. In the recent period a situation has arisen which seems to make it impossible to overcome the internal crisis. The cooperation between the government and the president, which is the basis of an efficient functioning of the executive, has entered a phase of sharp conflict. A destabilization of the state's structures is taking place, inappropriate steps are being made in foreign affairs, and staff changes are being made which do not solve the most important matters but aggravate them. The lack of cooperation between the government and the head of state results in the constitutional powers of the president being disregarded. The efficient functioning of the state is thereby being made impossible.

In this situation I have lost my confidence in the present government and this forces me to withdraw support for it. I propose that solutions be found up aimed at appointing a new cabinet that has the support of Parliament. I hope that you, Mr. Speaker, share my concern, and in the name of responsibility for Poland we will jointly undertake actions leading to the overcoming of this impasse. Please transmit my stance to the parliamentary floor groups. Lech Walesa signed the letter conveyed to the Sejm Speaker.

Spokesman on Olszewski Reaction to Letter, Treaty

LD2705031492 Warsaw PAP in English 2125 GMT 26 May 92

[Text] Warsaw, May 26—Against earlier announcements, Prime Minister Jan Olszewski failed to attend a news conference scheduled for Tuesday evening. Instead Government Spokesman Marcin Gugulski read the premier's statement on the recent Polish-Russian agreements in which Olszewski voiced his satisfaction with the documents.

"I want to express my satisfaction at the agreements signed recently in Moscow. I appreciate their significance for the international position of Poland and for our internal situation, first of all due to the fact that they finally regulate the question of the withdrawal of Soviet troops stationing in Poland for 47 years. It is a compromise reached with difficulty. I am glad it was possible to achieve in tune with the stand consistently taken by the government presidium and the Council of Ministers over the past weeks of difficult negotiations," the premier wrote.

"I also want to say I share the opinion of President Lech Walesa that all misunderstanding around the Polish-Russian talks should be examined by Sejm and Senate Committees for Foreign Affairs. It is Poland's parliament that is a proper place to discuss those important questions. Issues of that kind cannot be used for current political and personal games," Olszewski stated. He also added that the Polish-Russian friendship treaty and accompanying agreements will be subject of the government debate in the near future.

Marcin Gugulski failed to answer most questions on the participation of Jan Olszewski in the emergency meeting of the Sejm Presidium called to examine President Lech Walesa's letter withdrawing his support for the government.

"The government's stand on recurrent suggestions to dismiss the cabinet remains unchanged. The resignation will not take place until a new cabinet is formed under regular parliamentary procedure," Gugulski stated. The premier's reaction to the issue should be expected in "the near future" and the president's letter will be examined by cabinet members on Wednesday.

Asked about the presidential spokesman's comment on the government's withdrawal of objections to the documents accompanying the Polish-Russian treaty, Gugulski said: "I do not know why Minister Drzycimski did not tell the truth about it". He added the final settlements of the protocol on financial aspects of the Soviet pull-out from Poland were advantageous for this country and this was the most important thing.

Gugulski did not disclose reasons why the government had questioned the provision on forming Polish-Russian companies in former Soviet barracks in Poland. Neither did he confirm the opinion of Senator Edward Wende who had claimed there were no significant differences between the original version of the provision, questioned by the government, and its final version.

According to the government, had the provision been maintained in its orginal formulation, the protocol would not have been signed, because it would threaten the interests of Poland, the spokesman claimed.

Democratic Union Calls for Olszewski to Resign

LD2405194392 Warsaw PAP in English 1750 GMT 24 May 92

[Text] Warsaw, May 24—The Council of the Democratic Union (UD) on Sunday called for the resignation of the Jan Olszewski government. In a statement released after today's meeting, the UD said it would make appropriate steps leading to the implementation of this goal after holding talks with the Liberal-Democratic Congress and the Polish Economic Programme.

The council expressed a conviction that Poland needs a government which would be backed by a clear parliamentary majority and willing to cooperate with the president. The council also expressed its hope that political parties will set aside their differences to create conditions favouring the stabilization of the state and its economy.

UD leader Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the party's candidate for the premiership, said that the "present cabinet should resign as it does not guarantee efficient governing of the state and the implementation of reforms. It is not a government of breakthrough and hope but one of decomposition and inertia."

Mazowiecki added that an alternative to the Jan Olszewski cabinet might be created by people who believed that the present parliament is still capable of forming a majority, together with those who regarded cooperation between the cabinet and the president as a necessity and thought that the difference of political outlooks and ideology should not be an obstacle to finding compromise solutions to Poland's key political and economic problems.

The party leader stressed that the UD should be open to all those who will be ready to compromise on the political and economic field. After the meeting, Mazowiecki explained that the "proposal to create a new coalition did not apply to the Alliance of the Democratic Left (SLD)...," but he expects from the SLD a constructive attitude.

The council took an unequivocal stand that the Jan Olszewski cabinet should be recalled which, according to leader of the UD Sejm Floor Group Bronislaw Geremek, should happen by means of a constructive vote of no confidence.

Small Coalition Rebuffs Kaczynski Initiative

AU2705070192 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 21 May 92 p 1

['wz'-signed report: "With the Prime Minister Against the Government"]

[Text] On 20 May Center Accord leader Jaroslaw Kaczynski sent letters to the leaders of the parties represented in the governing coalition as well as to the leaders of the Democratic Union, the Liberal-Democratic Congress, and the Polish Economic Program inviting them to talks on forming a new government. However, in the letter Kaczynski proposed that Prime Minister Jan Olszewski also take part in the negotiations, because that would have a beneficial effect on stability in the country.

The response of the Democratic Union and the Liberal-Democratic Congress to Kaczynski's letter was very negative. The Democratic Union politicians that we spoke to described it as a curiosity.

"The content of the letter leads one to question Kaczynski's soundness of mind," is what Donald Tusk said at meeting of the Liberal-Democratic Congress Club. He added that it was the first time in history that someone had proposed talks on bringing down a government with the participation of the prime minister of that government.

Yesterday it was said in the Sejm that at the next Sejm session, the small coalition would table a motion calling on the government to resign. There were both supporters and opponents of that idea among the people in the Democratic Union and Liberal-Democratic Congress that we spoke to. One argument cited by opponents of the idea was that the Alliance of the Democratic Union might table a similar motion sooner, which would make it impossible for post- solidarity parties to support it.

The small coalition did not reach a final decision yesterday, and the meeting that was planned for the evening was postponed until today.

Kaczynski: Democratic Union Alliance 'Essential'

AU2605113492 Warsaw NOWA EUROPA in Polish 20 May 92 p 2

['PIK'-signed report: "J. Kaczynski Considers an Alliance with Democratic Union Essential"]

[Text] At a meeting held yesterday at the University of Silesia's Physics Institute, Center Accord leader Jaroslaw Kaczynski advocated the creation of a strong, modern center-right.

He ruled out the possibility of an ideological alliance with, as he put it, the conservative, Catholic, nationalist Christian-National Union and the nomenklatura Polish Peasant Party, which has grown out of radical peasant anticlericalism.

Society expects effective government and that is why, casting aside earlier prejudices, an alliance with the Democratic Union is essential. The political alliance is, in his opinion, necessary to prevent the formation of a government led by Olechowski, who, as Jaroslaw Kaczynski put it, sat on the red side at the Round Table. The formation of such a government is a completely realistic possibility, but having Olechowski as prime minister would, the Center Accord leader said, mean the reintroduction of communism in Poland.

Major Discusses European Security With Walesa

LD2605174692 Warsaw PAP in English 1553 GMT 26 May 92

[Text] Warsaw, May 26—President Lech Walesa and Britain's Prime Minister John Major met for over an hour in the Belvedere Palace in Warsaw on Tuesday to discuss international problems, European security and bilateral relations, spokesman for the Polish President Andrzej Drzycimski said.

Major stated that the European Communities and NATO nowadays opened new possibilities for the countries of Eastern Europe. He stressed the important role of the Visegrad triangle states (Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and Hungary) in the transition processes in the former Eastern Bloc. Referring to the European security, Major spoke of the need to develop a structure serving to maintain it, for instance, through the creation of a standing secretariat of the CSCE (Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe).

President Walesa briefed his guest on the results of his Russian visit. Spokesman Drzycimski said that according to the president the idea of NATO-2 and EC-2, conceived as a reconstruction, although not institutionalized, of economic and political ties between countries of Eastern Europe would facilitate their closer ties with the countries of the European Community and thus prevent any involvement of the West in possible conflicts in that region.

The British prime minister informed the president that in the coming weeks Britain would lift visa requirements for Poles.

Walesa, Herzog Praise Polish-Israeli Relations

LD2505134192 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1200 GMT 25 May 92

[Excerpts] Israeli President Hayim Herzog today began an official visit to Poland. In the Belvedere Palace courtyard, Hayim Herzog was welcomed by President Lech Walesa.[passage omitted] Talks between Presidents Hayim Herzog and Lech Walesa began at noon.

[Begin recording] [Walesa] There seems to be no area in which there are complications; there are no indications that our relations might [words indistinct], and really it depends on us how these relations will look. I am afraid that we have too many possibilities—and we don't know how to choose very well. These possibilities opened up so quickly that almost in a day it seems, whole areas are free to be built upon. [passage indistinct] But there is good will and there are many, very many free days (?for joint activities). That is why I hope that your visit, Mister President, will play its part in helping build upon many of them. I encourage (?you) to energize [dynamizowac], I encourage you to fill the empty spaces in our [word instinct]. I wish you a fruitful and good visit to Poland, Mister President.

[Herzog, in English, fading to Polish translation] Mr. President, I want to thank you for the warm reception given by your wife and yourself to me and to my delegation. This visit is a continuation of a process which began with your visit to Israel. Our fate has been entwined for millenia, entwined by our common history and our common experiences in superb periods (?which served to stimulate us) and [words indistinct] when we had Polish culture and world culture. [end recording]

Herzog Meets Olszewski

LD2505220392 Warsaw PAP in English 2048 GMT 25 May 92

[Text] Warsaw, May 25—President Lech Walesa told Israeli President Hayim Herzog on Monday there were indications that cooperation between the two countries could develop in every sphere.

Herzog, the first Israeli president ever to come to Poland, arrived for an official visit to Warsaw on Sunday afternoon.

Welcoming the Israeli guest to talks, Walesa stressed that many potential areas of cooperation had opened up recently between Poland and Israel, but there was still a lot to do. He encouraged a more dynamic and efficient approach to the gaps in that cooperation.

He referred to the common past of the two nations saying: "Our roots have been intertwined for a millennium" and added that this common heritage "gives hope for the future".

President Herzog replied that his Polish visit was the continuation of a process initiated by President Walesa's visit to Israel in 1991.

After over an hour-long talk, Lech Walesa said that the experiences of the past should unite rather than divide both nations. He dismissed the signs of anti-semitism in Poland as of little importance and added that none of the parties which had used anti-semitic slogans in the last parliamentary campaign had won a single seat.

Later in the day President Herzog met with Polish Prime Minister Jan Olszewski to discuss bilateral relations between the two states.

Olszewski echoed President Walesa's assessment of the relations saying that although they were good there still remained a lot to do.

"The discussion was a deeply moving experience for me because it showed how much Polish-Israeli relations, or on a broader plane, Polish-Jewish relations are linked with the tradition, the past, and the tragic experience of World War Two," the prime minister said.

Bilateral relations, as well as international issues interesting to both countries, were the subject of talks President Herzog had with Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski. Among the latter, the Polish minister

listed the developments in the former Soviet Republics and Middle East Peace Conference.

Meanwhile, Polish Ambassador to Israel Jan Dowgiallo signalled a growing Israeli interest in investing in Poland.

Recalling the agreements signed by President Walesa in Israel last year which cover, among other things, cultural and scientific cooperation, trade, and mutual protection of investment, the ambassador said that "the interest in Poland on the part of Israeli firms is growing, the more so that often they are run by people of the Polish descent, who know Polish conditions and language."

Dowgiallo also pointed out there was a tendency among Jews of the Polish origin in Israel to regain Polish citizenship they gave up in return for the permit to leave Poland. There are also people, especially elder ones, who want to return to Poland and regain their property there, he said.

'Breakthrough' Seen in Walesa Moscow Visit

AU2705070992 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 25 May 92 p 3

[Leon Bojko commentary: "Walesa Breaks the Bank"]

[Text] Without this visit, the negotiations on the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Poland would have still lasted some time and the outcome would have been uncertain. Lech Walesa accomplished a breakthrough, he closed the issue of the past, and opened the way for future relations.

The financial protocol linked to the agreement on the withdrawal of forces was signed on 22 May, five minutes before the beginning of the dinner given by President Boris Yeltsin in honor of President Lech Walesa and the Polish delegation. Lech Walesa was to have said the he would not take his seat at the table until the protocol was signed. Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski and Minister Pavel Grachov signed it as if in some scene from a Fellini film. I will leave the details of the ceremony until later.

A Great Opening

Today, one can state with complete certainty that Lech Walesa brought back everything from Moscow that he had gone there to get.

Lech Walesa not only brought back a whole bundle of important documents. Thanks to the fact that they have been signed, there is a possibility now of a "great opening up" in eastern policy in general and not just in Russo-Polish relations.

On the basis of what Lech Walesa said, one can venture to provide a preliminary outline of the principles of Poland's new eastern policy.

Russia is a European country and that is how it should be treated. The new framework of relations between countries that have liberated themselves from communism will be based on two pillars: Russia and Poland. Polish policy will not be directed against anyone. Poland will always act to promote harmony with its neighbors.

Contacts between Poland and Russia cannot harm the interests of other nations. "We will seek agreement, we will provide help, we will make appeals, and we will do whatever possible to help each side," is what Lech Walesa literally said at the news conference.

The question of a Warsaw-Moscow-Kiev triangle arose in a natural way during the visit. I think that it will have to turn into a square in a natural way. Byelarus should not and cannot be overlooked.

To be able to base good relations on new principles, both pillars must be strong, including the Russian one. This was not said directly, but after deciphering the diplomatic language, one can conclude that Russo-Polish relations will not be in order if Russia is conflict with Ukraine.

Heading West Together

Asked what issues had not been settled, Lech Walesa gave a brief reply: "The future."

The talks with Boris Yeltsin did indeed focus almost exclusively on the past. There was simply not enough time to discuss the future of relations (there are prospects of great opportunities for economic cooperation that would also encompass Western Europe).

However, an opening has been made. Lech Walesa's visit has provided Poland with new chances.

They Will Pounce on Us Again

Apparently the president of the Republic of Poland is very pleased with the visit and he has good reason to be. However, the mood within the Polish delegation was somber. Everyone I spoke to was in low spirits because of the obstreperous nature of the propaganda that had surrounded the visit and was expected to resume on their return. "They will pounce on us again" is what I heard most often.

The fruits of the visit should be "consumed" by the government. However, I doubt whether the government, which is involved in an open conflict with the president and is at odds with its own minister of foreign affairs, will be able to manage that task.

Illegal Activities of Russian Troops Reviewed

LD2605205392 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1730 GMT 26 May 92

[No video available]

[Excerpts] The Russian Armed Forces stationed in Poland are carrying out economic activities that violate Polish law. The customs and treasury services are recording cases of trading in non-ferrous metals, and the Prosecutor's Office is investigating the arms trade that has been discovered. The main problem is the airports, which remain outside Polish customs control.

[Unidentified reporter] Russians from the armed forces stationed in the Legnica voivodship are carrying out economic activity at variance with Polish regulations. Anything that has real value is sold. Of course, all this activity bypasses Polish regulations. Among the goods the Russians sell are also weapons. In the vicinity of Zlotoryja, 300 grenades, smoke bombs, detonators, barrels of fuel oil, and several kilos of mercury were found in the home of one of the farmers. Other types of equipment from Russian bases are also illegally sold.

In the Legnica voivodship there are a number of firms that are licensed to export non-ferrous metals, copper, brass, aluminum, and bronze. Among this scrap we find objects originating from the Russian units. [passage omitted] These are evidently materials that come from Russian units.

In recent weeks, agreements signed by the Legnica Voivoda with General Dubinin have caused much emotion. They were often interpreted as a beginning of joint economic enterprises on the grounds of former military bases. What was the purpose of those agreements?

[Unidentified interviewee] Well, first and foremost, to use those bases now, but also, and no less significant—not to allow that these bases be devastated.

[Reporter] Do you think that founding Polish-Russian joint companies on the grounds of bases used earlier by the former Soviet army is a proper thing to do?

[Interviewee] One cannot make any agreements with the Russians because they would like to stay here longer; the agreements mentioned earlier are not an attempt to establish any joint companies at all, although such rumors have been spread.

[Reporter] Without paying any respect to an agreement with the Voivoda, the Russians let the Lublin company, Cargo, use the television band that had been granted to them. Meanwhile, broadcasting of programs using the Russian band is illegal.

[Interviewee] (?Nobody) asked us for permission to use frequency channels granted to the Soviet Armed Forces in Legnica, and if anybody did, he would not be granted such permission now.

[Reporter] According to customs officers, a considerable portion of the illegal goods can pass through the airfields belonging to the Russian Army. The status of the airfields was determined in the inter-governmental agreement signed in 1958.

[Interviewee] I can only say that as long as this agreement is in force, the customs services cannot operate there.

[Reporter] The Russian airfields in Poland are a large hole in our borders through which, in an uncontrolled manner, there may pass goods, people, weapons, and all sorts of things without the Polish customs control. The only radical solution to this problem would be to place a Polish Customs outpost here in front of these gates.

Skubiszewski Denies Being Secret Service Agent

LD2605172292 Warsaw PAP in English 1514 GMT 26 May 92

[Text] Warsaw, May 26—Commenting on the charges made on Tuesday by Prime Minister Jan Olszewski's former aide who told a Warsaw newspaper that foreign minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski had allegedly been "a many years' Secret Service (SB) agent," the minister said: "newspapers nowadays carry a lot of untrue information, and it seems that especially this newspaper does this."

Skubiszewski referred to the pro-government daily NOWY SWIAT which carried allegations made by Krzysztof Wyszkowski. Skubiszewski did not rule out that he would speak to the prime minister and that he expected him to voice his opinion on the charges.

Asked by PAP reporter Wyszkowski declined "for the time being" to disclose any details to support his allegations. Instead he said that the information carried by NOWY SWIAT was mistaken and inaccurate.

Wyszkowski submitted his resignation as the prime minister's aide several days ago. "Krzysztof Wyszkowski has been a private person for the last 10 days," Government Press Spokesman Marcin Gugulski told PAP.

Asked about the possible source of Wyszkowski's information, press spokesman for the Office for the Protection of the State (UOP) Witold Starnawski refused to comment, and so did the Ministry of Internal Affairs spokesman Tomasz Tywonek.

Skubiszewski Emphasizes Importance of EC Treaty

LD2605213192 Warsaw PAP in English 1750 GMT 26 May 92

[Text] Warsaw, May 26—Poland's Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski on Tuesday said that the treaty on Poland's association with the European Communities will accelerate the process of the economic reforms, giving Poland prospects already enjoyed by EC member states.

Skubiszewski, addressing a joint meeting of six Sejm (Lower House) committees responsible for foreign affairs, foreign trade, agriculture, economy, budget and

legislative procedure, stressed that the treaty would not infringe Poland's sovereignty.

The minister continued to say that economic obligations stemming from the treaty will accelerate the restructuring of Poland's economy, which in the end would lead to economic stabilization. "The asymmetry of the document and a considerably long adjusting period opens possibilities for our economy and it only depends on us how we will use them," said the minister.

During today's discussion deputies opting for the ratification of the treaty stressed the political and economic importance of the document whose final goal is Poland's becoming a full-fledged member of the EC. Resignation from the treaty means Poland's isolation and economic stagnation, deputies argued.

Deputy Henryk Goryszewski of the Christian-National Union (ZChN) demanded from government representatives to give access to all documents linked with negotiations on the treaty. Other deputies called on the government to present precise estimates with respect to the financial effects of the ratification or the rejection of the treaty.

Members of the committees decided to hold further debates after which deputies are to decide whether to recommend to the Sejm the ratification of the document or to set up working groups with a task to review some of the entries of the treaty.

Production Rises for First Time in Three Years

LD2605211792 Warsaw PAP in English 1805 GMT 26 May 92

[Text] Warsaw, May 26—In April industrial production in Poland grew on a year-to-year basis for the first time in three years, the Central Planning Office (CUP) reported Tuesday. The growth amounted to 4.5 percent.

Another encouraging sign is the lower than planned deficit in the state budget. After 4 months of 1992 the deficit stands at 17.5 percent of the total envisaged for the year, while last April the same index amounted to 30.7 percent.

Prices rose 15.7 percent since December, 1991, while in April, 1991, the same index stood at 29.1 percent. The supply of money increased also by 15.7 percent in January-April this year.

One worrisome trend, according to the CUP, is the growing payment arrears in relations between enterprises.

In April prices of consumer goods and services grew by 3.7 percent, while wages went up by 4 percent compared with March. The average wage now stands at about 2.8M zlotys (about 200 dollars).

The number of unemployed grew in April by a mere 2,000 which, however, was mainly due to changes in registration criteria.

Walesa Disapproves of TV Chief's Dismissal

AU2405195092 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 20 May 92 pp 1, 2

[Joanna Stempien report: "Olszewski Sacks Zaorski"]

[Text] On 19 May Prime Minister Jan Olszewski dismissed Janusz Zaorski, the chairman of the Radio and Television Committee. His duties have been assumed, in accordance with the prime minister's will, by Jan Marek Owsinski, the current deputy chairman of the committee and chief of Polish radio. These moves were made without the knowledge and approval of President Lech Walesa.

Government Spokesman Marcin Gugulski said that the dismissal of Janusz Zaorski should not come as surprise to anyone. For some time the government has expressed serious concern about the situation within the Radio and Television Committee. Prime Minister Olszewski voiced his concern toward the end of last week, when he said that a six-month trial period for the heads of the Radio and Television Committee was now over. They were granted the six months at the request of the president and the period was to provide an opportunity to scrutinize the work of Janusz Zaorski, who had been appointed to that post by Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki. According to the prime minister, the result was not satisfactory.

The government spokesman said that during a meeting on Monday [18 May], Prime Olszewski informed Chairman Zaorski about his expectations regarding television and proposed solutions to improve the situation. As it was not possible to reach agreement, the prime minister decided to dismiss Chairman Zaorski.

"The government has certain statutory powers and duties with respect to the public media. They include personnel policy, that is, the appointment of persons who will guarantee that tasks are performed well. These rights and duties were exercised in the case of Janusz Zaorski's dismissal," added Minister Gugulski.

The decision to dismiss Chairman Zaorski was made on Tuesday shortly after a lengthier meeting between the prime minister and President Walesa. However, President Walesa only learned that the prime minister had made such an important move from his spokesman during a meeting of the parliamentary Foreign Affairs Commission.

Andrzej Drzycimski, the presidential spokesman, told ZYCIE: "The news of Prime Minister Olszewski's decision came as a great surprise to both President Walesa and myself. We were simply taken aback, as during the half hour meeting between the president and the prime minister that morning there were was no talk of the

possible dismissal of Janusz Zaorski." Minister Drzycimski said that the prime minister and the president had discussed a variety of issues, including the situation in television. The prime minister expressed criticism, but the president was of the opinion that Zaorski's team would be capable of introducing essential and urgent reforms in that institution.

Minister Drzycimski added: "The sudden dismissal of Zaorski is another example of how very important decisions are made without consulting the president. I believe that this move on the part of the government does nothing to create a calmer and better atmosphere in either television or in the country as whole. It is all the more surprising, because the president had on more than one occasion proposed a joint discussion on television with the participation of the government, the heads of the Radio and Television Committee, and himself."

We have learned from circles close to the heads of the Radio and Television Committee that the immediate reason for Janusz Zaorski's dismissal was his unwillingness to follow recommendations made by the prime minister. During Monday's meeting with Chairman Zaorski, the prime minister had demanded that Robert Terentiew be reinstated as head of the Television News Agency. As we know, Robert Terentiew was recalled from that post last week: The decision was made by committee chairmen Zaorski and Purzycki.

On Monday Chairman Zaorski sent a letter to Prime Minister Olszewski in which he asked that the recommendation to reinstate Robert Terentiew be canceled. He stated that his reinstatement "would violate the basic principles according to which public television operates in a democratic country in which the rule of law is upheld."

In his letter, Chairman Zaorski points out to the prime minister "while Mr. Robert Terentiew held the post of director of the Television News Agency, many programming and personnel mistakes were made." The letter states: "During explanatory talks, in which your political associates participated, we arrived at the steadfast conviction that Mr. Robert Terentiew was personally involved in the so-called Parys affair. His manner of involvement completely disqualifies him from being head of news programming."

Deputy Head of Radio, TV Committee Resigns

LD2605084892 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0430 GMT 26 May 92

[Text] Jan Puzycki, deputy chairman of the Radio and Television Committee, handed new chairman Zbigniew Romaszewski his resignation yesterday. The reason for his decision is the reappointment of Robert Terentiew, head of the Television Information Agency [who was dismissed on 14 May].

GAZETA WYBORCZA daily has learned from unofficial sources that both former chairmen of the Polish Radio and Television—Zaorski and Puzycki—are going to make a film on television work behind the scenes. Box office success is guaranteed.

Sejm Prepared To Work on Interim Constitution

AU2705082392 Warsaw NOWA EUROPA in Polish 19 May 92 p 4

[Joanna Szulc, Slawomir Rokicki report: "A Tripartite Division of Power Above All"]

[Text] Following Lech Walesa's appeal to the Sejm to increase the powers of his office, the Extraordinary Sejm Commission has accelerated its work on a small constitution. However, at the present time, there is nothing to indicate that the law will introduce a French model of government in Poland.

The commission has been working on a draft small constitution proposed by the Democratic Union [UD]. Professor Bronislaw Geremek told NOWA EUROPA: "The draft that our club has prepared retains a balance between the president, the government, and parliament. It is the most far-reaching compromise with regard to the president's expectations that the UD could propose."

The work that the commission has carried out thus far indicates that no parliamentary grouping would be prepared to back the president's proposals. UD Deputy Andrzej Potocki told us: "The basic mistake that we make in thinking about a new constitution is that we talk about the president, but it is Lech Walesa who we are thinking about. The legal measures that are adopted today must have a long-term character—a law cannot be drafted with specific politicians in mind. That is why it should be realized that personal attacks on Lech Walesa are also attacks on the office of the president of the Republic of Poland. Although my view of Lech Walesa's presidency has been negative from the outset, I consider such actions to be damaging for the Polish raison d'etat."

Small coalition politicians have frequently stressed that it is currently impossible to govern in Poland without a political agreement with the president. However, the basis for such cooperation must be a clear definition of the powers of all the forces governing the state.

The draft small constitution that is under consideration envisages that the president will have the right to appoint a prime minister. The Sejm would be able to pass a vote of no confidence in the person who is head of the Council of Ministers.

"It also regulates the purview of the president's authority with regard to foreign and defense policy," said Andrzej Potocki. The architects of the draft constitution indicate the need for clear principles underpinning cooperation between the president's office and the Ministries of National Defense and Foreign Affairs. "The president's right to appoint the head of the general staff is intended to strengthen his control over the Army," said Professor Geremek.

During commission sessions the UD has been unable to defend its concept of a session-based system of parliamentary work. Besides, there was no agreement within the UD or within the small coalition on whether the idea was appropriate. "On the other hand, all the groupings that make up the small coalition are in agreement on the question of the president's powers," said Professor Geremek.

Last week, the Council of Minister passed a resolution on preparing a draft small constitution of its own, but it is yet to be presented to the Sejm commission. "I fear that the government draft will play the same role in the commission's work as the president's draft did last time. I doubt whether all the groupings that make up the governing coalition would be prepared to defend the draft," said Professor Geremek. Irrespective of the number of drafts, the adoption of a final version of the small constitution will require a compromise, not only among parliamentary groupings, but also among the centers of power in the state.

Foreign Ministry Agrees on 4-Party Moldova Talks

AU2605174292 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 26 May 92

[Text] This morning, on behalf of Andrey Kozyrev, the Russian minister of foreign affairs, the Russian Embassy in Bucharest proposed that a quadripartite meeting of the foreign and defense ministers of the Republic of Moldova, Romania, Russia, and Ukraine be held in Chisinau on 28-29 May to discuss the situation in the eastern part of the Republic of Moldova, according to a press communique released a short while ago by the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Romanian side expressed its agreement with convening the meeting on 28 May and confirmed the participation of Messrs. Adrian Nastase, minister of foreign affairs, and Nicolae Spiroiu, minister of national defense, the press communique concludes.

Army Denies Allegations in Moldova Conflict

AU2505173692 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 25 May 92

[Text] Russia's national television station recently broadcast statements by certain representatives of separatist guardsmen from the Republic of Moldova, claiming that Romania has allegedly sent trainloads of military hardware to that country in the last few days. Likewise, certain segments of the media claim that Romania is mobilizing reservists to be sent to the conflict area in the Republic of Moldova.

In this respect, the Press Bureau of Romania's Armed Forces states that these news items have no real basis in fact. Their broadcasts actually want to justify the involvement of the units of the 14th Army, which are under Russia's jurisdiction, on the side of the Dniester separatists in the ongoing conflict on the left bank of the Dniester River.

Stolojan, Babiuc Meet Russian Interior Minister

AU2605175292 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1133 GMT 26 May 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 26/5/1992—On Tuesday, May 26, Romanian Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan received Viktor Teodorovich Yerin, minister of the interior of the Russian Federation, who is paying a visit to Romania upon an invitation extended by his Romanian counterpart.

Victor Babiuc, Romanian interior minister, who was in the attendance, told ROMPRES that during the meeting a review had been made of the links between Romania and the Russian Federation concerning the activity of the two interior ministries and economic and political relations. The need was highlighted that the intensified and broader cooperation between the Ministries of the Interior of Romania and the Russian Federation concentrate on actions intended to put a halt to the expansion of infractions of the law in the two countries.

In a statement to the press, the Russian interior minister said Romania and the Russian Federation cooperated with fine results in the settlement of joint professional questions, in an attempt at controlling infractions of the law, defending citizens and safeguarding the public opinion in the two countries.

The results of that cooperation reflect in a draft bilateral agreement whose signing will lay the legal foundations for the resolution of the aforesaid problems.

As concerns the situation in the Dniester region the guest said that Russia considered it to be the problem of sovereign Moldova. Understanding its role very well, Russia wants, for humanitarian reasons, to settle the conflict through peaceful, political methods alone. The Russian leadership does its utmost for that state of conflict, which leads to the death of innocent people, to be solved as soon as possible, through peaceful means alone, the Russian minister also said.

The interview was also attended by the ambassador of the Russian Federation in Bucharest.

Justice Minister Receives Moldovan Jurists

AU2605174892 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1601 GMT 26 May 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 26/5/1992—Romania's Justice Minister Mircea Ionescu-Quintus, received a delegation of jurists of the Republic of Moldova led by Alexei Barbaneagra, its justice minister. The Moldovan guests enquired about the underway reform of the judiciary in Romania, in an effort to know as much as possible since the Romanian reform will be taken as a model by the Republic of Moldova.

The Moldovan guests asked for support to know the Romanian laws, advancing the idea of an information and computer processing department to which both Romanians and Moldovans should contribute.

They also asked that Romanian experts in international relations assist the Moldovan Justice Ministry's recently set-up international affairs division especially to word bi- and multilateral legal assistance treaties and conventions to which the Republic of Moldova would be a party.

Stolojan Urges Coordination of Aid for Moldova

AU2605165892 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1500 GMT 26 May 92

[Text] In the presence of Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan, a meeting of the Interministerial Committee for Romania's Ties With the Republic of Moldova took place at the Bucharest's Victoria Palace today. In his opening speech, the prime minister said that the meeting

should identify actions that satisfy certain concrete requirements of the Republic of Moldova. He recalled that each ministry and governmental institution in Romania has steady contacts with the ministries of the Republic of Moldova. One should now, however, set up a system—that also includes the activity of the Interministerial Committee—to work out a coherent and long-term program to coordinate all actions in support of the Republic of Moldova.

In this respect, Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan said that sooner or later one will have to tackle the issue of the two countries' integration—first of all at the economic, then at the sociocultural level. In this respect, it is all the more necessary to coordinate public actions and efforts to implement an ever-closer cooperation. In this context, the prime minister emphasized that deposits in the open bank account for assistance to Moldova are still unsatisfactory.

PRR Wants 14th Army Withdrawal From Moldova

AU2205120892 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0952 GMT 22 May 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 22/5/1992—In a communique the Republican Party of Romania [PRR] expresses its indignation over the militarist, war policy practiced by the Russian Federation through the 14th Army in Transdniestria which has violently and ostentatively [as received] passed to using mass destruction weapons and modern technique against Moldova's civil population and militia troops.

This violation of the international law principles and of international conventions, the communique reads, in which Russia is also involved, proves clearly that the end of cold war and military aggression is still an illusion. Some former great powers being unable to get accustomed to positive roles in international life are always ready to impose their policy of dictation and even conquer by force.

To stop the bloodshed the Republican Party demands: the urgent and unconditioned withdrawal of the 14th Russian Army from the Republic of Moldova's territory; the calling up of the UN Security Council at the same time with the organization of an international inquiry; the application of economic sanctions against the Russian Federation to cover the aggressive actions of an army belonging to it; the introduction in Moldova of UN military observers besides the existing ones; firm interventions of Romania's Government and Parliament on an international plane to settle immediately the conflict before the evolutions could take an irreversible course.

The party also demands the politicians, men of letters and scientists in Russia, all those understanding what is happening in Moldova to intervene to avoid the creation of feelings of hatred and intolerance between two neighbor peoples and nations which have so many things in common in their old history.

Dailies Comment on Situation in Dniester Conflict

AU2305195692 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1725 GMT 23 May 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/5/1992—The whole Romanian central written press of Saturday 23 May carries news items, dispatches, and commentaries on the developments in the districts on the left bank of the Dniester River of the Republic of Moldova. The headlines are relevant: "Moscow Only Believes in Force" (ADEVARUL), "Where Romanians Are Killed in Their Own Land" (ROMANIA LIBERA), "Moscow's Perfidious Game" (ROMANIA LIBERA), "Russia Emerges From Neutrality" (TINERETUL LIBER), "Why Does Boris Yeltsin Say Nothing?" (CURIERUL NATIONAL), and "Moscow Displays Its True Colors" (AZI).

"On both banks of the Dniester River the situation is serious, civilians are evacuated, schools were closed, and admission examinations were adjourned. These are factors that bring the conflict in the Republic of Moldova into the focus" says TINERETUL LIBER." "Is there nothing that could stop the boundless insolence of the forces that systematically torpedo our patience and even the Romanian-inhabited territory?" the same newspaper asks. "The cards are on the table" daily AZI writes. "Russia tries to dictate, willingly ignoring the rules of international law that it had accepted as the basis of its relations with the other CIS sovereign republics. And the demagogic and provocative allegation that in the Dniester region "the Russian population is subject to genocide is intended for certain ears only."

"Russia says nothing" CURIERUL NATIONAL notes "so does Boris Yeltsin." The same Yeltsin whose election as president was a case for joy for all inhabitants of the right bank of the Dniester, because Tiraspol openly supported his opponents. Now, Boris is silent and Russia's observers fail to show up at the quadripartite talks."

"Russia wants to build another state between Ukraine and Moldova, wherefore it does not hesitate to resort to force" ROMANIA LIBERA says. It is a decision that shows a definitive strategic political line of the Russian leadership on the Tiraspol enclave." "The West Is Silent" is the headline under which ROMANIA LIBERA shows in a dispatch from Chisinau that Moldova's population asks itself with good reason at this time of trial "why does the West say nothing, why is it indifferent to the Moldovans' suffering?"

Nastase Discusses International Affairs, Hungary

AU2605132192 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1943 GMT 25 May 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 25/5/1992—"One of the things we have to assert with all strength is our belonging to Central Europe," Romania's Minister of Foreign Affairs Adrian Nastase states in an interview with weekly ROMANUL. The Romanian foreign minister explains the fact that instead of the ideological division—

according to which Europe concluded there where the USSR began—now the historic concept has appeared again according to which only the former USSR represents Eastern Europe and between it and the Western Europe the area should be considered as Central Europe as the things were in the interwar period.

Referring to the coordinates of the Romanian foreign policy, Mr. Adrian Nastase states: "In the foreign policy we only follow the options of December '89: openness in the conditions of a deeper understanding of the problems confronting Romanian society, able to lead to a normal, civilized dialogue with the other countries."

"There should be very well understood in Budapest, too, that our relations will be not possible to improve as long as indisputable proofs are not given that Hungary has no territorial claims from Romania," Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs Adrian Nastase states in an interview with weekly ROMANUL.

"Our relations, the foreign minister specifies, will be possible to improve in the moment when—through a very clear clause of the bilateral treaty—the fact that Hungary has no territorial claims from Romania is specified." Referring to the version supported by the Budapest officials as concerns the so-called violations of the rights of the Hungarian minorities in Romania, the Romanian foreign minister asks how such a point of view could be credible when, out of the fifteen minorities living in Romania, only the Hungarian minority is presented as oppressed and unhappy.

Instead of being member of the Council of Europe in three months we shall be in five or seven months. This is no tragedy. Things should be treated without nervousness—Romania's Minister of Foreign Affairs Adrian Nastase states in an interview with weekly ROMANUL.

After he shows that Romania participates in the most activities of the Council of Europe, the foreign minister appreciates the document of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe called "geographical expansion of the Council of Europe, political options and consequences"—which conditions Romania's admittance to that organism by certain concessions in the event of Bessarabia's union with Romania—as an "unsuccessful exercise of thinking of Europe's problems". The Romanian foreign minister appreciates that "Europe's countries are not judged by the same criteria even if formally this thing is said," and he expresses his confidence that "the Council of Europe, in the measure in which it wishes to be a European institution, will never be able to function without Romania, which is a European country."

As far as the relations with the U.S.A. are concerned, Mr. Adrian Nastase appreciates they are in a continuous growth with possibilities and hopes that until the end of this year they pass beyond conventional ties to enter the stage of special relations.

"Transdniestria was conceived as an experimental range for various formulae and various confrontations that are held in Moscow rather than on the left bank of the Dniester," Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase shows in his interview with the weekly ROMANUL. He thinks that everything that happened during the four-party negotiations (between Romania, the Republic of Moldova, Ukraine and Russia), which resulted in a number of understandings, is "a useful diplomatic exercise" and that "we must employ what I called "the bicycle principle", that is to say, we must pedal on and on, advance at a sustained pace, allowing the parties to think of no other formula of settlement, like, for instance, the military one."

Article Views FSN Split, Election Chances

AU2705081392 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 23-24 May 92 pp 1, 3

[Anton Uncu article: "Democratic National Salvation Front—a Political Diversion"]

[Excerpts] The National Salvation Front [FSN] has split into two or even four factions, each of them claiming that it is the bearer of the ideals of the December revolution. [passage omitted] The merit of such factions is to delimit, to clarify the ideology characterizing a party.

By virtue of the right of association, an individual may become liberal today, social-democrat, monarchist, and so forth tomorrow. [passage omitted] The fact that such a thing is not exactly nice is another matter, which I do not propose to discuss. And I do not propose to discuss how the FSN won the parliamentary elections in May 1990. I only want to say that it won them, thus securing—with a comfortable majority—the right to have a decisive word in parliament, the country's legislative body. Whether we like it or not, the FSN was given this right by the electorate and the electorate may withdraw that right. Whether we like it or not, the FSN is (or was) the majority group in parliament. [passage omitted] However, after it caused the bloodshed in Bucharest's streets in June 1990 and after taking the economy to the threshold of collapse and the society to a state of disintegration, what are the FSN's chances in the elections?

Before the local elections [on 9 February 1992], the conflict between the two main factions of the Front, which I will not name, was taking place behind the scenes, although the signal was given by the public confrontation between Iliescu and Roman. However, after the local elections, when it became clear that the united opposition represents a force and the Front's chances have painfully fallen, the delimitation process began, that is the Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN] emerged. [passage omitted] The FDSN is completely different from the FSN. It is a honest party because it has just been set up. It is a party that you may fully trust and that you may vote for, without any

hesitation. And, you see, Mr. Iliescu is the man who wants to achieve this country's well-being. [passage omitted]

We are the Democratic National Salvation Front, the true bearer of the ideals of the December revolution... [passage omitted]

In two or three months—that is why the elections have been postponed—all the FSN deputies and senators could easily join the FDSN and there they are nice, honest, intelligent, and able to win this year's elections. At the helm, of course, are Ion Iliescu and Dan Martian [Assembly of Deputies president], who has just resigned from the FSN and has joined the FDSN. I do not know what [Senate President] Barladeanu is waiting for, because without him the team is not complete. In a few months the whole organizational structure of the FSN just adds a "D" and thus relinquishes all its sins... Vote for FDSN! Its symbol: a rose.

Well, you fine, honest, and intelligent people, do you really believe that if you add a "D" and rise against the FSN, people will forget that you were sitting in parliament when the miners were called in and that you approved of the interrogation and brutal treatment of young people who could not be accused of anything? [passage omitted]

What ideals were you promoting at that time? Have you become different people? A different party than the FSN? Then what are you doing in parliament? And what are the wings and sub-wings, that have recently emerged, doing in parliament? [passage omitted] On 20 May [1990] you did not exist, nor did the whole camarilla that now issues laws and levies taxes. Why? You disregard the will of the people and change the ruling party as you like? [passage omitted] How many votes did you win on 20 May? Or are you the same party? Then remain what you are because we will ask you anyhow what you have achieved in the past two years as the ruling party. And maybe with God's help, we will not be so blind as last time and vote for you again.

FDSN To Convene Nationwide Conference in Jun

AU2605192492 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1828 GMT 26 May 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 26/5/1992—A weekly news conference of the Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN] on Tuesday was told the party's arguments for simultaneous general and presidential elections as soon as possible.

A statement distributed to journalists says that the FDSN Provisional National Council discussed its organisation in the territory and the preparations for an all-country conference. Because a large number of county and city organisations expressed their allegiance to FDSN, the thirty-two chairmen of the party's county organisations were admitted to the Provisional National Council. As a result its membership has been increased to 57 from 25, and the decision has been made that as county conferences are held their chairmen be automatically admitted to the Council.

The preparations for the all-country conference of the Democratic National Salvation Front due in Bucharest in June were assessed as good.

On the subject of general elections, it was shown that the Senate, where the FDSN is the majority group, all the bills had been passed, some of them even twice. In the Chamber of Deputies where the FDSN group is next to the FSN in point of membership, the FSN-Petre Roman group jointly with the Hungarian Democratic Party group and the Christian-Democratic National Peasant Party group had long blocked election bills through futile debates.

Serbs Offer To Help in U.S. Peace Efforts

LD2605210792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2032 GMT 26 May 92

[Text] Pale, 26 May (TANJUG)—If the U.S. Government wants to help in peacefully resolving the Bosnia-Hercegovina situation, the Government of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina is willing without hesitation to help these efforts. This is stressed in a letter sent by Government President of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina Branko Djeric to U.S. Secretary of State James Baker.

Djeric conveys his government's willingness to put an end to the violence in Sarajevo and other parts of Bosnia.

Stressing that the Serbs are only defending their right to live on their own soil, he says that the Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina will be gravely disappointed if the U.S. Government adopts a policy of force and war.

Russian Foreign Minister, Delegation Arrive

Kozyrev Meets Izetbegovic, Pelivan

AU2605140892 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 26 May 92

[Text] The Russian delegation headed by Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev arrived in Sarajevo this afternoon. (?During his visit) to the republic, Kozyrev is having talks with Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency, and Prime Minister Jure Pelivan. The talks are under way and the Russian minister is expected to make an official statement.

Airport Blockade 'Central Topic'

AU2605172092 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 26 May 92

[Risto Djogo report]

[Excerpts] It is relatively calm in Sarajevo today. The only activity is by snipers. Muslim snipers shoot from the Republican Assembly building in Marijin Dvor at Serbian soldiers who are controlling the territory from Vrbanja Most to the stadium of the Zeljeznicar soccer club. Thus, yesterday, one Serbian soldier was hit and killed and another was injured. The barracks of Marshal Tito, and the barracks in Alipasin Most and in Pazaric have still not been evacuated. It is not safe at all to leave the barracks, it is said in the Army ranks. Simply, Green Berets are keeping the soldiers and cadets in tightly surrounded. Fortunately, there are no casualties in the barracks, and there are sufficient quantities of food.

The most serious situation is in the village of Bradina, about 15 km from Hadzici. One thousand Serbs are completely surrounded there. There were casualties in the attack at Bradina jointly carried out by members of the Croatian Defense Forces and Green Berets last night. It is hard to give any numbers because the village is cut off from the world. However, the Territorial Defense Headquarters of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Radio of Bosnia- Hercegovina report today that Serbs were killing each other in Bradina. Such unprecedented untruths have already become disgusting even to the fiercest supporters of the policy of the Muslim-Croatian leadership. [passage omitted]

Speaking at the regular news conference today, Mile Akmacic, secretary general of the rump Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, said that the foreign minister of the Russian Federation, Kozyrev, is paying a visit to Sarajevo and that he is talking with Alija Izetbegovic and Jure Pelivan. The central topic of the talks is the lifting of blockade on the Sarajevo airport. The Serbian side offers to lift the blockade but under the condition that the control be carried out by the Serbian militia, because the airport is in Serbian hands and on Serbian territory. The Muslim side, however, insists that the control be carried out by their forces, something that is understandable from Izetbegovic's point of view. Namely, only if controlled by his paramilitary units, the airport would be used to bring weapons and ammunition needed to continue war operations, which the Muslim-Croat side is not giving up.

'Terrorists' Hold Kozyrev in Barracks

LD2605160392 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 26 May 92

[Slavko Rako report]

[Excerpts] The quiet night and morning in Sarajevo could not last. The lust for destruction and killing, which has become the way of life for Serb terrorists on the nearby hills, became active around 1300 GMT. An artillery attack was launched on Mojmilo and shells fell on Velesici and Bare. Several helicopters belonging to the aggressor have landed at Sarajevo airport, and several freight trucks with plundered goods and eqipment have left the airport. A tank with a Yugoslav flag, a flag of a non-existent country, is circling the airport and opening fire on nearby settlements.

Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev experienced the hospitality of terrorists, who held him for an hour and a half in the Lukavica barracks. Neither the Presidency nor the Russian Embassy were informed about this. [passage omitted]

The Bosnia-Hercegovina Ministry for Internal Affairs said it has reliable information that Zeljko Raznjatovic Arkan died of wounds and was buried near the town of Igalo in the presence of Branko Kostic, Biljana Plavsic, and Milo Djukanovic.

Izetbegovic, Kozyrev Summarize Talks

AU2605205292 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 26 May 92

[Text] We will start the program with the statements that were made to correspondents by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, and Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev after their talks in Sarajevo today.

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] [Words indistinct] we had a more detailed talk with Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev. The talks were very useful. We confirmed that we have joint stands on a whole string of very important topical issues. However, with these talks, we [changes thought] Kozyrev particularly stressed that as the first point he wanted to state Russia's adherence to the principle of the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Other conclusions then followed, which I will outline from memory: the establishment of a permanent truce in Bosnia-Hercegovina at all points where there is fighting with, of course, the withdrawal of the Yugoslav army from Bosnia-Hercegovina; the necessity to ensure the presence in Bosnia-Hercegovina of international forces, above all, of the United Nations, which would guarantee the maintenance of the truce and the process of calming down the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, in which respect the return of the refugees to their homes is certainly the most important thing. Further, the continuation of the political negotiations under the auspices of the EC; the lifting of the blockade on transport routes and particularly the lifting of the blockade on Sarajevo airport, which should be used for the arrival of humanitarian aid for the residents of Bosnia-Hercegovina. We were really interested in the airport, because it is most probably linked with the lifting of blockades on a number of districts. I am talking about districts in the suburbs of the city of Sarajevo, like Dobrinja, and of course the roads that lead to the airport.

Finally, we took advantage of the presence of Minister Kozyrev to discuss details concerning the withdrawal of the Yugoslav Army from Bosnia-Hercegovina and that relate to this current halt in the withdrawal from the city of Sarajevo and the barracks in Sarajevo. We explained what the problem was and what the situation is now. We agreed that the Yugoslav Army should withdraw from Sarajevo according to the conditions that were agreed upon.

I would then say that we have just received the information that General Boskovic [member of the Supreme Command of the armed forces of Yugoslav] has again arrived in Sarajevo to resume his talks on the withdrawal of the Yugoslav Army from the Sarajevo barracks, to resume and [word indistinct]. Otherwise, I can add that Mr. Kozyrev is a very constructive discussion partner, and we quite easily reached consensus on this very complex issue concerning Bosnia-Hercegovina.

I of course took the opportunity to brief Mr. Kozyrev on the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina and of course our idea about how this situation arose. I stressed that after it achieved independence, Bosnia-Hercegovina was subjected to a brutal aggression. [end recording]

Correspondents were then addressed by Mr. Andrey Kozyrev, foreign minister of the Russian Federation.

[Begin recording of Kozyrev, in Russian with subsequent Serbo-Croatian translation] I think that the talks were [words indistinct] constructive and essentially not only an exchange of views, but also a joint search for ways to resolve the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina. I think what is of primary importance is [words indistinct].

I think that what is of primary importance is of course the recognition of the territorial integrity of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the independence of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the establishment of political regulations during the peace conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina within the framework and in the presence of the EC, sorry, under the auspices of the EC.

Regarding direct action, this is of course the decision on a cease-fire, the lifting of the blockade on roads, the fulfillment of the agreement on barracks, and the lifting of the blockade on Sarajevo airport, so that the cease-fire in the surrounding area of the airport and the approach roads will begin tomorrow morning at 0400 GMT and work will immediately start for making the airport capable of receiving traffic.

Of course, it is understandable that I cannot achieve such agreements myself and carry them out. However, I had an agreement in principle with [Branko] Kostic [vice president of the Yugoslav Presidency] and Serbian President Milosevic in Belgrade that if this agreement in principle was achieved they would support it. [words indistinct] all sides I had talks with and I think that an order will be issued tomorrow [words indistinct]. [end recording]

Cease-Fire Arranged

LD2705082592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0627 GMT 27 May 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 27 May (TANJUG)—A new cease-fire has been in force in Sarajevo since 0400 GMT this morning. It was arranged yesterday during a visit to Sarajevo by Russia's Foreign Affairs Minister Andrey Kozyrev when an agreement was also reached to lift the blockade of Sarajevo Airport.

Lifting of the airport blockade will help to distribute humanitarian aid to the people of Sarajevo. In Dobrinja township about 40,000 people have been in total isolation for nearly a month. There is hunger in the township and the population's appeals for help have remained unanswered.

In some parts of Sarajevo armed confrontations and fierce street fighting took place overnight. Shells hit all areas of the city.

Representatives of the Bosnia-Hercegovina authorities and the army are expected to resume talks on the withdrawal of the army from the barracks in Sarajevo. In a statement to local radio Stjepan Kljujic, member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina rump Presidency, said that the Bosnia-Hercegovina delegation will insist on what has been agreed on, that is, that the first to leave the Marshal Tito barracks should be army personnel with side arms only, to be followed by recruits and army families.

No End to Airport Blockade

AU2705143292 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 27 May 92

[Risto Djogo report]

[Text] Instead of there being a cease-fire, which was agreed by Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev, there were new crimes in Sarajevo this morning. The lifting of the blockade of Sarajevo airport for humanitarian and civilian purposes was not achieved. Instead, the Muslim side carried out an attack near the airport and Dobrinja.

Twenty people were killed and 70 wounded in the city center itself, in front of the market. Some 50 meters down the road, five dead and 25 wounded people are lying in front of Planika. The Muslim side claims that the city center was attacked from the positions of the Yugoslav Army and the Serbian army.

Momcilo Krajisnik, chairman of the Assembly of the Serbian Republic, who we asked a few minutes ago to comment on this attack, claims that this is a new trick aimed at discrediting the Serbian people and the Serbian army. Krajisnik said that the Muslim forces only wanted to internationalize the problem in order to receive military aid from abroad. We deplore this crime and sharply condemn it. We will immediately contact [UN Secretary General] Butrus Ghali, [EC Chairman] Pinheiro, and Cutilheiro [chairman of the EC sponsored talks on Bosnia-Hercegovina]. Not a single bomb was fired from the Serbian positions this morning, Momcilo Krajisnik claims. Of course, it will be very difficult to explain to the world what the truth is.

The maternity hospital was also hit last night. There is proof that the hospital had been evacuated earlier and that it was occupied by the Green Berets. The maternity hospital was hit during the fighting last night, but the Muslim sources do not claim that there were any casualties either, which indeed proves that this was a military and not a civilian facility. There was fighting in other parts of the town today, too. Vrace was attacked from Hrasno Brdo. Street fighting was also reported in the district of Grbavica.

At the news conference organized by the Muslim-Croat side today, Jerko Doko [minister for national defense of Bosnia-Hercegovina] directly called for intervention by the U.S. Sixth Fleet in the fighting in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Establishment of 'War Government' Considered

LD2605164992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1532 GMT 26 May 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 26 May (TANJUG)—The Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, which does not include representatives of the Serbian nation, has seriously been considering a proposal by opposition parliamentary parties to set up a war government which would be active in the conditions of immediate war danger which has been proclaimed in this republic.

This was stated at a press conference in the international press center today by Presidency Secretary General Mile Akmadzic. He informed journalists that consultations regarding the setting up of a new government are under way and that opposition parties are being given the chance to put forward their candidates.

Mile Akmadzic said that the evacuation of Sarajevo barracks has come to a halt, because new conditions are still being set, while agreements signed by the army and the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency have not been observed.

He also told journalists that a decision to pardon a number of prisoners, particularly those in the Tuzla prison, has been adopted.

Sarajevo Radio Releases Civilian Casualty Figures

AU2605151892 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 26 May 92

[Text] According to currently available figures, since the beginning of the fighting in Bosnia-Hercegovina in 69 communes with almost 3 million residents, more than 2,200 residents have been killed. Around 7,300 residents have been wounded, and more than 40 percent of these have serious injuries. [Words indistinct] people are missing, while around 1 million have been forced to seek safety in exile.

For the rest of the population, the blockade of the republic has meant a shortage of food and medicine [words indistinct]. Numerous hospitals are [words indistinct] minimum with a chronic shortage of medicines, hygienic materials, oxygen, oil, and vehicles. This is all at a time when the republic has [number indistinct] chronically ill patients, of which 35,000 are diabetics.

Hygiene and epidemic circumstances are very serious and uncertain, and there are increasing instances of medical centers being hindered from working and medical personnel being harassed, wounded, and killed. This has been announced by the information office of the Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Presidency Ready for 'Any Serious Talks'

AU2705130692 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 May 92 p 2

[N.B., B.M. report: "There Will (Not) Be Negotiations"]

[Text] Sarajevo—Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, has signed an agreement with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina, on the division of Bosnia-Hercegovina, but is concealing it for the time being. We found out about this from quite reliable sources.

According to well-informed circles, Izetbegovic does not dare reveal this, both because he knows it could cost him his power and because he is hoping that when the former Yugoslav People's Army leaves Bosnia-Hercegovina he will find it easier to justify his act.

We could not get official confirmation of the news of the latest talks between Radovan Karadzic and Alija Izetbegovic on Pale. However, considering yesterday's situation in and around Sarajevo, that is all so much ado about nothing and the new cease-fire is just so much smoke.

"We, in the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, are not willing to talk with guns aimed at us," we were told yesterday by Mariofil Ljubic, a member of the old Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which has taken on the authority of the assembly. "Sarajevo is being blocked in every possible way, it is being shelled with heavy artillery to break the will of the defenders and make us admit that we are beaten. I can assure you that we will resist the aggressor and that we are ready to defend Sarajevo and Bosnia-Hercegovina. The Serbian propaganda machinery is trying to accuse the legal organs of authority of continuing the conflict. That is not true. We will accept any serious talks and any serious cease-fire, but we will not accept force. We have to liberate our territories, and if we cannot do it through negotiations, then we will have to fight. There are no warring sides in Bosnia-Hercegovina. There is only the aggressor, meaning Serbia, Montenegro, the former Yugoslav People's Army, and the paramilitary formations of the Serbian Democratic Party. We are the defenders. We in the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency will accept all talks on the internal order of the independent Bosnia-Hercegovina, but we are not prepared to hold any further talks with Radovan Karadzic on that subject," Mariofil Ljubic said.

Velibor Ostojic, a minister of Serbian Bosnia-Hercegovina told BORBA that talks, however, should be held.

"The Lisbon talks were obstructed by the Muslim politicians. We expect that Europe and particularly the UN will insist on a peaceful solution and the continuation of the talks, both joint and bilateral. The Serbian side is ready for that at any time and that is why we have announced a five-day cease-fire. The agreement in Graz between the Serbs and Croats gives us hope and some initial results. It has proved that agreement is possible if it is truly wanted, but also that it takes very little to replace it with fighting. But the departure of Franjo Boras from the Presidency of the former [as published] Bosnia-Hercegovina is a sign that the forces that want urgent political solutions and the confederalization of Bosnia-Hercegovina are growing. Boras's departure from the Presidency is final proof that this Presidency of theirs has no legitimacy and legality as a state organ, since the Serbian representatives had left even before. If there are no talks, then the Serbian people have every moral right to wage a defensive war and create a state of their own, which will inevitably be incorporated in the Yugoslav state territory," the minister for information of Serbian Bosnia-Hercegovina said for BORBA.

[The following appears boxed within the body of the article]

City Commissioner

Izetbegovic and his Presidency have named a republican commissioner for Sarajevo, one Sakib Seleskovic. The decision on naming a city commissioner, who will, according to the statement, have all the constitutional authority until the functions of the city institutions are normalized, was made as soon as the news arrived that the opposition parties could take over authority in Sarajevo.

No Division of the City

The city council of the Reformists' Party issued a statement in which they say that they reject any calculations to divide Sarajevo.

"We underline that the future of the capital of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina is not in being included in ethnic cantons, because Sarajevo has always been the example of centuries old togetherness of Muslims, Serbs, and Croats, and Jews, Yugoslavs, and members of other nationalities," Sarajevo reformists say and call on all citizens to join the units of the ministry of internal affairs or the territorials in the defense of Sarajevo.

Serbs Propose Srebrov, Vesovic for Presidency

LD2405225992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1122 GMT 24 May 92

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, 24 May (TANJUG)—On the initiative of Vladimir Srebrov, a meeting was held in Sarajevo today of about 50 Serbs from this city who launched an initiative proposing that Vladimir Srebrov and Marko Vesovic be candidates for the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency as members of the Serbian people.

They should join the presidency to replace Biljana Plavsic and Nikola Koljevic who served in the highest state organ on behalf of the Serbian Democratic Party [Srpska Demokratska Stranka—SDS].

Srebrov branded this meeting "the assembly of the Serbian people of Bosnia-Hercegovina" and said that over the past few days "consultations have been conducted with Serbs in a number of districts of Sarajevo and that his and Vesovic's candidacy for the presidency is a result of these consultations". He also said that Bogic Bogicevic and Ugljesa Uzelac are also among the candidates contesting the vacancies on the presidency allocated to the Serbian people. [passage omitted]

Mikulic Allegedly Making Comeback After Isolation

AU2205124792 Belgrade NEDELJNA BORBAHOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Serbo-Croatian 16-17 May 92 p 3

[Z. Vukovic report: "Mikulic Joins Game"]

[Text] Sarajevo—The rump Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina—which has, from the outbreak of the war, taken on the authorities of both the Assembly and the government, and in which there are now three members of the Party of Democratic Action (Izetbegovic, Abdic, and Ganic), and Stjepan Kljuic (who long ago lost any influence he might have had in his Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ])—has rejected the proposal by four opposition parties (reformists, Muslim Bosniak Organization, liberals, and DSS [expansion unknown]) to appoint Fikret Abdic prime minister-designate of the new government of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The reason for this is—the ethnic key!

The Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency believes that the new prime minister-designate should be a Croat (the earlier attempt at reconstructing the government with Jure Pelivan has finally failed). The opposition parties protested yesterday, and warned that there had already been a change in the ethnic balance, since Mariofil Ljubic (HDZ), former vice president of the assembly, had become the formal president of the assembly after the departure of Momcilo Krajisnik.

In this situation, the opposition claims, the most important element is whether the personality of the prime minister-designate enables him to carry out the task. Everything else, they say, is of less importance. This is the reason they insist that Fikret Abdic is best suited for the task under the present circumstances.

BORBA has learned that the rump Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency will persist in its views that a Croat should be the prime minister-designate. Since the HDZ practically refuses to recognize the republican authorities, this party will not propose a new prime minister-designate.

However, that will be done by the disparaged "Bosnian part of the HDZ," which consists of Stjepan Kljuic and several other ex-politicians (Hrvoje Istuk, for example) and intellectuals. BORBA has been told by reliable sources that their candidate is Branko Mikulic. Izetbegovic and the Party of Democratic Action are now noncommittal, as they are trying to analyze possible reactions to the fact that it is a question of promoting a former communist leader and statesman.

Mikulic's mandate is favored by some other, not particularly influential, political lobbies in Bosnia-Hercegovina, but his candidacy is still taken seriously. The fact that the Socialist Democratic Party (former communists) have not expressed their support for the nomination of Fikret Abdic is seen as unofficial backing of Mikulic (evidence of that is Mikulic's participation in a recent Socialist Democratic Party debate, interpreted as his comeback, after two years of political isolation).

Will Izetbegovic choose Mikulic, or will he give in to the opposition and appoint Abdic as prime minister-designate? Of course, one should keep in mind the possibility of a third candidate. If Abdic gets the necessary approval from the Presidency, then Dr. Nijaz Durakovic will take his place in the Presidency, according to the election results, and the still unpublished Presidency's regulation on staffing state organs. Abdic's nomination would make it more realistic that Nenad Kecmanovic and Mirko Pejanovic would agree to replace the departed representatives of the Serbian Democratic Party. Abdic's nomination would mean a change in the power structure of the republican leadership. Everything leads to the conclusion that Abdic is the only person in Bosnia-Hercegovina at the moment who can count on public support, regardless of nationality. His nomination obviously presents a danger to the tripartite concept of authority, and that explains the reservations toward him and his candidacy.

Since the opposition parties are well aware of this, they are conditioning their participation in the organs of authority with concessions (such as Abdic's nomination), which will necessarily lead to the collapse of the tripartite structure of authority in Bosnia-Hercegovina. This is why the rump Presidency is not fulfilling its promise that the representatives of the opposition parties will be entitled to sit in all sessions of the Presidency, without the right to vote on decisions. The Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency adopts regulations that are completely unknown to the public, and then explains them away by making public its views on some disputed questions. This ignoring of the parliamentary opposition prevents the possibility of a public debate, and is an obstruction to what the Presidency should be in this present state of war. At the same time, at the Presidency's sessions, some individuals can be seen who have absolutely no grounds for being there.

Yugoslav Army Withdrawal From Dubrovnik Begins

LD2605154492 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 26 May 92

[Report from Dubrovnik by Josko Jelavic]

[Excerpt] At 1440 today the army of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia left Mokosica, the largest suburb of Rijeka Dubrovacka. No one in Mokosica, where more than 12,000 citizens lived before the aggression on Dubrovnik, expected such developments, because this morning the so-called local Mokosica command prohibited a ship from sailing on the local Gruz-Mokosica route. Nevertheless, the first signs signalling the withdrawal of the occupying army could be felt yesterday afternoon when numerous Serbian families were in a hurry to leave the suburb by all means of transport, and also by plundering everything that could be taken away.

Reports on the withdrawal of the Yugo troops from Dubrovnik have been coming in incessantly. Shortly after 1400, tanks were withdrawn from a stronghold at Zarkovica, and half an hour later the occupiers withdrew their tanks from Dubac. [passage omitted]

Blockade Lifted, Troops Withdraw

LD2705110792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0949 GMT 27 May 92

[Excerpt] Bileca, 27 May (TANJUG)—The Hercegovina Corps has lifted the blockade of Dubrovnik and withdrawn its units from the surroundings of the city, deploying them along the administrative border between Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia, the Hercegovina Corps press center stated today.

The blockade of Dubrovnik, it was stated, was lifted at 1800 yesterday following a decision made by the presidency of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The Bileca-based Hercegovina Corps press center says that the lifting of the blockade is yet another concrete example that confirms that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has no territorial pretensions to other lands and that this is yet another contribution to the creation of conditions for the settlement of the crisis through political means.

The Hercegovina Corps forces, the press center stressed, have thus shown goodwill for the continuation of talks to settle the crisis on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, among other things the issue of Prevlaka.

The units of the Hercegovina Corps, it was said, were moved to a distance which guarantees a renewed blockade, if necessary, of Dubrovnik both from the land and the sea.

The fate of Dubrovnik, the press center said, is now exclusively in the hands of the Republic of Croatia. [passage omitted]

JNA Leaves Lastovo Island

LD2305194592 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 23 May 92

[Text] The Yugo army is leaving the island of Lastovo. It has taken away all its so-called property. The last cargo ferry left Lastovo for Boka in Montenegro this morning. Heavy arms were taken away earlier. It is expected that all eight garrisons on Lastovo will be handed over soon, in the presence of European observers. There are still seven war ships in Lastovo port.

JNA Departs Mljet Island

LD2605135592 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 26 May 92

[Excerpt] Over the past eight months the Yugo army kept its stronghold on the strategic southeastern side of the Mljet Island, which was predominantly used for radar reconnaissance. In the presence of EC monitors, at 1730 yesterday the Yugo soldiers left Mljet Island and sailed off in the direction of Boka Kotorska. The departure of the Yugo army from Mljet Island passed without a single bullet being fired. [passage omitted]

Russian Foreign Minister Arrives in Zagreb

LD2505163792 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 25 May 92

[Text] Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev has arrived in Zagreb. Kozyrev told journalists that during his mediation mission he will try to persuade warring parties to end the conflicts in Bosnia-Hercegovina. As one of the goals of his visit, Kozyrev mentioned attempts to create a humanitarian zone around Sarajevo and, to this end, to liberate the local airport.

Talks are under way in Villa Zagorje, where Croatian President Franjo Tudjman has received Foreign Minister Kozyrev. It is envisaged that the Russian Federation and the Republic of Croatia will sign a protocol on the establishment of diplomatic relations. [video shows Croatian Foreign Minister Zvonimir Separovic greeting Kozyrev at Zagreb airport]

Protocol on Relations Signed

LD2505205792 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 25 May 92

[Text] Andrey Kozyrev, foreign affairs minister of the Russian Federation, arrived in Zagreb this afternoon. He started his official visit to the Republic of Croatia with talks with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman in Villa Zagorje.

Following the talks, Ministers Kozyrev and Zvonimir Separovic signed a protocol on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Croatia in the presence of President

Tudjman, Premier Franjo Greguric, high-ranking Croatian officials, and the Russian delegation. Branko Merlin reports:

[Merlin] Proceeding from traditional and historical ties between Russia and Croatia, Minister Kozyrev expressed the conviction that a new phase of bilateral relations is starting. Ways of encouraging economic and political cooperation formed one of the topics of the comprehensive talks which Kozyrev had with President Tudjman this afternoon. In the course of the talks, views were exchanged on ways of overcoming the crisis on the soil of the former Yugoslavia. Regarding this, Minister Kozyrev expressed the hope that the talks would help find new approaches to the problems and facilitate the Russian peace mission.

Congratulating Croatia once more on its admission to the United Nations, the guests expressed the hope that the Russian Federation and the Republic of Croatia would cooperate equally well on both the bilateral and multilateral levels in the future.

Assessing the long talks this afternoon as very successful, Croatian Foreign Affairs Minister Zvonimir Separovic thanked Minister Kozyrev and the Russian people for their early recognition of the Republic of Croatia, before the United States and many other countries, as well as for the vote of support given by the Russian Federation, a great power, to Croatia's admission to the United Nations. Croatia wants good relations with the Russian Federation, Minister Separovic said, and continued:

[Begin Separovic recording] The signing of this agreement will certainly contribute to strengthening the existing substantial relations in the fields of economy, culture, science, and sport. The announced meeting at the prime minister level will extend and formalize this. This meeting will follow soon, and will be a logical step after this act. [end recording]

[Merlin] Following the formal signing, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman hosted a formal dinner in honor of Minister Kozyrev and the Russian delegation, which is leaving Zagreb tomorrow.

Kozyrev Departs

LD2605132792 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1243 GMT 26 May 92

[Text] Zagreb, May 26 (TANJUG)—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and Croatian Foreign Minister Zvonimir Separovic have signed a protocol on establishing diplomatic relations between their two countries.

Kozyrev, who left Zagreb for Sarajevo via Belgrade on Tuesday, on Monday evening met with the president of the ex-Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, Franjo Tudjman.

There was no official statement on the talks. However, in a brief statement carried by the Croatian press, Kozyrev expressed hope that his talks with Tudjman would contribute to resolving the Yugoslav crisis and to aiming the Russian peace initiative to that effect.

During Kozyrev's stay in Zagreb it was announced that a Croatian delegation led by Premier Franjo Greguric would visit Moscow. The subsequent talks are expected to focus on the two countries' economic cooperation.

Prime Minister Will Not Seek Return to Office

LD2605200392 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 26 May 92

[Text] In the course of our talks about the Croatian Government's tasks and duties we concluded that it would be damaging to the Republic of Croatia if I were to resign from the post of government president. This is what Franjo Greguric said at today's press conference. Jasenka Dudic reports:

[Dudic] We maintain that a crisis of government would damage the processes of stabilization, the liberation of some parts of the ocupied areas, the UNPROFOR's [United Nations Protection Force] operation, and the restoration of the Republic of Croatia, Greguric said. This is why we agreed, he added, that the government's composition should remain the same until an election, which should be called by this summer. Changes to the government are possible due to international obligations and the needs imposed on us by our work. The government and its core cabinet will be carrying out its tasks in the international and internal sphere, including the most important ones like the stabilization of the economy, succession regarding the old Yugoslavia, the return of those who have been driven out of their homes, restoration, and employment. In this way we shall facilitate the organization of the election, following which this work will be resumed by a new team, Greguric concluded. He explained his desire to end his term by saying he was tired.

Council Urges Joining International Agencies

LD2605183492 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 26 May 92

[Text] A session of the Supreme Council of State of Croatia (SCS) has been held in Zagreb. The SCS came to the conclusion that after its entry in the community of United Nations Croatia was faced with an important task of gaining membership in specialized agencies and international organizations. In order to ensure a prompt and effective participation in resolving economic-financial problems, in finalizing the deployment of UN peacekeeping forces and in completing the EC-sponsored negotiations on the succession of states, the SCS is of the view that the government will have to develop an urgent program of its activities in joining UN-specialized institutions. To this end the SCS stresses the need for completing the work of setting up the Republic of Croatia's missions in the UN in New York and Geneva.

The SCS was informed in greater detail about talks which the Croatian delegation had with UN Secretary General Butrus Ghali; the UN Security Council president, Peter Hohenfellner; the UN General Assembly President, Samir al-Shihabi; and many other UN ambassadors. All of them stressed the importance of Croatia as a factor of stability in this part of Europe. Attention was drawn to the need not to take any action as regards the deployment of the peace forces which could damage Croatia's position in the world. The withdrawal of the army from the occupied territories must be monitored carefully but with no provocations whatsoever which would serve to provide the Yugoslav Army with an excuse for continuing its attacks and for refusing to leave.

However, if the army of aggression fails to withdraw from the occupied territories within the given deadline, the Croatian Army will be forced to use all means at its disposal to liberate every inch of the Croatian territory.

The SCS also discussed coming changes in the government. The Council came to the conclusion that press speculations about changes in the government should be stopped as they create an unnecessary climate of instability. The present government is the government of continuity and as such will remain in office until the new elections which are to be called as soon as the last soldier of occupation leaves the territory of the Republic of Croatia.

In reference to Croatia's Statehood Day, the SCS has advised all diplomatic and consular missions of the Republic of Croatia to mark it in a festive and modest way.

The Council approved a proposal by the chairman of the Assembly commission for war victims to transfer, in view of the increasing number of excavated mass graves from the Second World War, the remains of all World War II victims to Jasenovac, where a memorial complex would be erected to commemorate all victims of World War II. To this end the Council has asked the Ministry of Education and Culture to prepare relevant documentation and project.

President Tudjman paid tribute to the SCS as an advisory body for its successful role of coordinator during the entire war and for coordinating activities of the government, the Assembly, and the President of the Republic, a statement issued after the session stresses.

Tudjman Address to UN General Assembly Session

LD2205203492 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1530 GMT 22 May 92

[Speech by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman at the UN General Assembly in New York; Tudjman speaks in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation—live]

[Excerpts] Mr. President, Mr. Secretary General, your excellencies, ladies and gentlemen: In the history of Croatia, no moment can be as important as the recognition of the independence of this country and its sovereignty, and its admission to the world community of nations and independent states as represented by the United Nations Organization. Allow me therefore, on behalf of the Croatian people and of the Republic of Croatia, to express our profound gratitude to the United Nations, to Secretary General His Excellency Butrus Ghali, to His Excellency Peter Hohenfellner, president of the Security Council, and to all members of the Security Council who unanimously recommended that the Republic of Croatia be accepted as a member of the United Nations. I extend particular gratitude to the chairman of this session of the UN General Assembly, His Excellency Samir al-Shihabi, and to all participants at this plenary session, who, with today's decision on our admission, have conferred on us an honor and shown confidence in us, which Croatia has surely deserved and which it will endeavor to fully justify. [passage omitted]

Your excellency, esteemed representatives of the free countries of the world, as of today Croatia has won its international legitimacy, its own flag, which is sacred to every Croat citizen, because on its account Croats were persecuted and driven into exile. It will fly now freely and proudly in front of the UN building. [passage omitted]

We live at a time in which, because of its scientific and technological superiority, mankind is experiencing its highest level of civilizational integration, but also at the same time national individualism. The achievements in the sphere of culture and technology are continuing at a pace such as we have never seen before, but at the same time we have a simultaneous process of national individualization. In pursuing these essentially opposite trends, mankind is striving to create a single world community as an organized international system of independent and sovereign states founded on the generally accepted principles of the right of nations to self-determination and freedom. However, the Croatian people have not achieved their independence and sovereignty within the scope of these general trends alone, but also under the particularly difficult circumstances of the demise of the totalitarian, socialist system in Europe and the disintegration of the multinational Yugoslav state community. After the establishment of a democratic system and the proclamation of independence, as the will of the people expressed in a plebiscite, Croatia has had to endure great sacrifices for the preservation of its sovereignty. Croatia was faced with a war imposed by the Yugo-communist army and Serbian imperialism for the restoration of communism and the seizure of Croatian regions.

In this war, which found the Croatian people unarmed and pitted against the technologically superior armed power of the former Yugoslav Peoples' Army [JNA] Croatia also won international recognition by managing to defend its freedom and democracy on its way to fully

fledged membership in the CSCE and the United Nations. However, this war has not yet come to an end, particularly because the aggresors have also expanded this barbaric war to neighboring Bosnia-Hercegovina despite the efforts of the UN Security Council and the EC.

The consequences of this barbarous war at the end of the 20th century are horrible. In Croatia, about 30,000 have died or been maimed, mostly civilians, while many villages and even entire cities have been destroyed. Several hundred historic monuments and economic, religious, medical, and educational facilities have also been destroyed. The extent of suffering inflicted on the civilian population in this war of aggression against Croatia is conveyed by the fact that in Croatia over 600,000 people—the infirm, the elderly, women, and children—have been driven out of, or fled, their homes. Moreover, about 250,000 people have fled to Croatia from Bosnia-Hercegovina. The provision of relief aid for those who have been expelled and for refugees exceeds war-exhausted Croatia's capacities. Hundreds of thousands of threatened people are therefore expecting help from the international community. In addition to this, Croatia is appealing to the top bodies of the world organization to take more decisive and effective measures together with the EC and the CSCE to put a definitive end to the war in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina and to establish peace and international stability in this part of the world. [passage omitted]

Hungarian Foreign Minister Talks With Greguric

LD2305172292 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1400 GMT 22 May 92

[Text] Our correspondent Gyorgyi Orban has sent this report on the Croatian response to Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky's talks in Zagreb, which concluded today.

[Orban] In a statement to journalists accompanying Geza Jeszenszky, Croatian Prime Minister Franjo Greguric said that he is satisfied with the talks with the Hungarian foreign minister. He said that there is total consensus regarding the refugee question; that is, the conditions for their return must be created, even if this is done with international help. It is the conviction of the Croatian leadership that the Serbian leaders cannot be forced to stop the war by economic and diplomatic pressure alone, because they only understand the politics of force and the harshest form of that. According to Greguric, the prospect of military pressure and the threat of intervention has to be held out. At the moment it is the population of Bosnia-Hercegovina that is suffering from Serbian policies, but this could be extended to the Hungarians of Vojvodina and the Croats also. The Croatian prime minister added that military intervention is naturally out of the question at the moment, but there is no other effective solution.

Warns of Clashes in Kosovo, Vojvodina

LD2205210592 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 22 May 92

[Excerpts] Geza Jeszenszky has completed his negotiations in Zagreb. Special correspondent Gyorgyi Orban reports from the Croatian capital, on the Hungarian Foreign Minister's news conference.

[Orban] The Hungarian foreign minister considers preventive diplomacy as the rational course to avoid clashes in Vojvodina and Kosovo. [passage omitted] The Croatian and Bosnian examples show that Europe was too late and it is for this reason that the international community must act urgently and deploy European observers and UN blue berets in Vojvodina and Kosovo because Serbian political pressure is constantly growing on the minorities in both regions. [passage omitted]

Prime Minister Greguric's view, as he told Hungarian journalists accompanying the Hungarian foreign minister, is that the Serbian aggression in Bosnia-Hercegovina can be halted only by military pressure—intervention if necessary. [passage omitted]

Final Stage of Conflict in Army Leadership Viewed

92BA0912B Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 10 May 92 p 9

[Unattributed article: "Alliance of the Incompetent"—first paragraph is VECERNJI LIST introduction]

[Text] Final stage of the collapse of the Yugoslav military-diplomatic corps.

Greater-Serbian policy has rarely invested a dinar in diplomatic finesses, i.e., in an intelligent use of international circumstances, in contrast to Montenegrin policy. Belgrade would rather invest two dinars in armed force.

Josip Broz was among the first to succeed in making use of this, and he certainly had in mind the fact that Dusan's kingdom is an exception in Serbian history, while territorial expansion is a rule in Montenegrin history (it has become three times larger in the last century or so!). That is why Montenegrin colonels and generals gained control of Belgrade in the first postwar years. That is how there arose a harmless alloy of Serbian diplomats whose incompetence has been verified, and Montenegrin generals whose incompetence has been proven. From that alloy, Broz forged the nonaligned movement, which failed for Yugoslavia in 1988 in Brioni, when Admiral Branko Mamula tried to create a nonaligned military bloc.

The first stage in the fall of the alliance of incompetent diplomats and generals came with the collapse of Yugoslav diplomacy. The second stage was the conflict within the Serbian military leadership between Serbian and non-Serbian generals over the issue of the Yugoslav state. It was expected that the third and final stage, which

we are witnessing today, would end with a victory by the so-called liberal wing led by young colonels and generals who are not burdened by communism and are technically and otherwise educated. They were supposed to defeat the old conservatives, the Yugoslav communists and the uneducated ones, whose prototype is General Adzic.

It is becoming clearer and clearer that the third stage of the collapse has been carried out along the lines of the conflict between mostly young high officers and generals (loyal to Serbian national socialism), and mostly older generals (steeped in Yugoslav socialism). That division within the ranks of high military personnel, purged of non-Serbs, is the logical consequence of the past 10-15 years of the development of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army]. That development has been dominated by two trends—indoctrination and impoverishment.

The indoctrination is assuming fantastic dimensions, and, especially after Broz's death, its main political content in cadets' heads has been modified into Serbian imperial chauvinism. The acceptability of that ideology is falling on fertile soil. The JNA is in an increasingly worse material and technical position, and doctrine requires maintaining its size and increasing its authority in political life, and consequently, impoverished in spirit and money, it is lowering its criteria for education and promotion. The result is, on one hand, the flood of all sorts of "Adzices," and, on the other hand, the emergence into the forefront of indoctrinated petty politicians, such as General Vuk Obradovic, for example.

Belgrade 'Cheating' on Western Borders of State

92BA0918B Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 11 May 92 p 6

[Article by Maroje Mihovilovic: "Leading the Thirsty Over Water"—first paragraph is VECERNJI LIST introduction]

[Text] Belgrade is cheating the international public with a border on the Drina, and the domestic public with a border on the front line in Croatia.

After what Serbian television viewers saw in news broadcasts Saturday evening, they no longer know where the western border of the state in which they are living is located. In the main daily news on 9 May, they could see a brief report from the new border crossing on the Drina, on the border between Serbia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, on the road between Uzice and Visegrad. A newly appointed customs officer was interviewed, who explained how here, on the western border of "Yugoslavia," they were controlling travelers, who had to have a passport or personal identification, and goods, which were being inspected, but which were not yet subject to customs duties. From this segment, one could conclude that the authorities of the newly created Yugoslav state had begun to do consistently what they had promised—they were limiting control just to their own territory, while they were already considering Bosnia-Hercegovina a sovereign state.

Viewers who had watched the broadcast "Chronicle of the Serbian Krajinas" just an hour before on that same Serbian television, however, could have been left confused. That broadcast included a segment filmed several hundred kilometers to the west, a report by a reporter from the so-called Knin Krajina from the new "border crossing" that the authorities of the so-called Knin Krajina had "opened" not far from Peruca. That is one of several dozen such "border crossings" through which the self-styled "Republic of Serbian Krajina" wants to demonstrate its "statehood." At the above-mentioned "border crossing," the viewers were shown a "customs officer," "an employee of the federal authorities, Nenad Kojic." He said that there "is no crossing" there "because the border crossing is closed, since we are at war." He commented that on the territory of the "Republic of Serbian Krajina," "employees of the Federal Customs Administration here are controlling this territory, which is under the jurisdiction of 'Yugoslavia' and the federal authorities."

So where, then, is the western border of "Yugoslavia," on the Drina, or hundreds of kilometers to the west, near Knin? When it is necessary to cheat the international public, then it is claimed in Belgrade that the border is on the Drina, but if it is necessary to cheat the domestic public, then it is claimed that the western border is on the front line in Croatia. They want to show foreigners that the "Federal Republic of Yugoslavia" has renounced its aspirations for other people's territories, but to show Serbs that it has not abandoned those territories.

The truth can easily be revealed, however. The "Federal Republic of Yugoslavia" has not renounced its territorial claims west of the Drina. After all, the appointment of Major General Ratko Mladic as commander of the Second Military Region in Bosnia-Hercegovina shows that the leadership of the "Federal Republic of Yugoslavia" is still thinking of controlling the situation west of the Drina. A recent convenient political lapse by Montenegrin leader Momir Bulatovic proves that most eloquently. In Montenegrin radio's "Meridian" broadcast, he answered numerous questions, including one about Prevlaka, a Croatian territory at the entrance to Boka Kotorska, a bay that Montenegro claims. He said that that "problem" between Montenegro and Croatia could also be solved peacefully, through some sort of exchange, and thus Croatia would cede Prevlaka to Montenegro "for certain territories that are strategically important to Croatia, for example in Bosnia-Hercegovina." Thus, although the Yugoslav leadership vows that it recognizes the sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Momir Bulatovic has demonstrated that it is not true. He wants to trade Bosnian territory, still considering it his own.

Conclusions of Croatian Assembly Meeting Reported

92BA0904D Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 10 May 92 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Completion of the Meeting of the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia: Conclusions of the Assembly"]

[Text]—The Assembly of the RH [Republic of Croatia] accepts the assessment of the Government of the RH that the international position of Croatia is stronger and that it is on the ascent, but that the internal situation is worsening because of the increased aggression of Serbia and Montenegro, the former JA [Yugoslav Army], and irregular Serbian-Montenegrin units.

—The greatest burden of the war in Croatia is being borne by Croatian defenders and population who live and work in occupied, directly threatened areas, as well as the wounded, prisoners, exiles, and refugees. The consequences of the aggression against the Republic of Croatia are affecting the whole Republic.

—The unprecedented brutality and senseless destruction on the part of the aggressors have not diverted Croatian policy from the basic principles for an independent and whole Croatia, but within the framework of European and world standards, especially the documents of the CSCE and the Paris Charter. Such an orientation in Croatian policy has shown itself to be correct and effective. The Assembly supports the efforts of the Government and the president of the Republic to make Croatia a UN member as soon as possible.

—The Assembly confirms that the greater Serbian, imperialistic faction is experiencing failure and isolating Serbia, Montenegro, and their army in Europe and the world. A characteristic of this greater Serbian policy is especially manifested in practice in the creation of pure ethnic areas through their occupation and the removal of material goods, as well as the persecution and destruction of the non-Serbian population. This imperialistic policy is manifesting itself most recently through instances of terrorism and other forms of violence.

—The aggressor wants to draw Croatia into a direct military confrontation and a general conflict, even though there would be arguments for equal guilt by the aggressor and victims of the aggression.

—The Assembly of the RH supports all initiatives for the scheduling of an urgent session of the Security Council and for the rendering of all necessary decisions to the effect that Serbia, Montenegro, and the former JA are the aggressor and that effective measures be taken on the basis of Chapter 7 of the UN Charter to stop the war against Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina.

In this context the Assembly expresses concern in connection with the current execution of obligations undertaken by the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], which are tied to the decisions of the Security Council.

—Proposals for the exclusion of the former Yugoslavia from all international institutions and for serving an ultimatum to Serbia, Montenegro, and the JA by the EC and the CSCE are supported. Here mechanisms should be found for placing the army of the former Yugoslavia under international control and for the swift rendering of a decision to send UN peacekeeping forces to Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The Assembly especially supports the convening of an international conference on the return of exiles and refugees and on granting effective aid for their care and return. The formation of an international court for war crimes on the territory of Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina is also requested.

—Initiatives for a session of the CSCE and the UN for the complete political and economic isolation of the aggressor, including military intervention in the case of the continuation of the aggression, are supported.

—The Assembly gives complete support to the basic aims of the operation of the UNPROFOR, especially to those connected with the protection of Croatian borders, the return of exiles and refugees, the establishment of Croatian legal order, the withdrawal of the aggressor, the disarming of Chetnik and other armed terrorist units in the occupied area. The fact is being established that, during the first phase of the arrival of the UNPROFOR, there were many flagrant enemy provocations on the territory of Croatia; this is creating concern and bitterness on the part of the Croatian public.

—The Assembly supports the activities undertaken by the president and Government of the RH, as well as the further intensification of activities in order for the UNPROFOR to perform its task and so that there are no harmful political and other political consequences. On the other hand, Croatia will utilize all available means to free the occupied areas and establish Croatian legal order on its whole territory.

—The Program for the Return of Exiles and Refugees is supported as the initial basis for the approval of an all-encompassing program of renewal and the return of exiles and refugees. The request that the entire Croatian state and Croatian population undertake the all-encompassing renewal of the Republic with solidarity is also supported.

—The Assembly instructs the Government of the RH to present a national program for the return of exiles, which will obligatorily contain a detailed plan for their return, by the next Assembly meeting. The Assembly is also required to pass all necessary laws and acts for the implementation of this plan.

—The Assembly instructs the Government to influence friendly countries more strongly with the aim of stopping the aggression of Serbia, Montenegro, and the JA against Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina. At the same time the Assembly expresses dissatisfaction with the current course of the assumption of obligations by the UN peacekeeping forces in accordance with the plan of Mr. C. Vance and the Security Council, because it makes the implementation of the program of the return of exiles and refugees impossible.

—The Croatian Assembly expresses great thanks to Croats in the homeland and in the world and all individuals, organizations, and institutions that are assisting the Republic of Croatia in caring for exiles and refugees and in defending the country.

Elections to House of Parishes Postponed

92BA0904G Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 9 May 92 p 4

[Unattributed article: "We Are Not for an Incomplete Law in an Incomplete Croatia"]

[Text] Right to the millimeter, with 172 votes, which is the borderline for a constitutional law to be accepted, the constitutional law for the implementation of the Constitution under which the election of representatives into the Zupanijski building is postponed five months from the election and the first meeting of the house of representatives was enacted. Under this constitutional law, the execution of some constitutional decrees on the responsibilities of the Zupanijski building is prolonged, and the authority of this building is transferred for a certain time to the house of representatives. The discussion about this law also indicated disagreement.

Stanko Kovac believes that the law is harmful for Croatia, because under the Constitution the confirmed constitution of the Assembly cannot be changed by a minute or by five months. Without justification, he said, we will get an incomplete Assembly, and the arguments about how Croatia cannot divide itself now into parishes are not serious, in his opinion. Ivan Kovac believes that, with the transfer of authority from one house to another, though temporary, nevertheless revises the Constitution; this cannot be done under the constitutional law for the implementation of the Constitution.

Like him, Ivica Racan also believes that it is a question of revising the Constitution; this is a violation of procedure. The problem of dividing Croatia into parishes is indeed serious, Racan emphasized, but it is worthwhile to deal with it, and not leave it for some better times. If the Assembly is unqualified to resolve the problem of the democratic organization of Croatia, then we are putting in question the ability of that assembly to resolve more difficult questions, said Ivica Cacan, adding that the opposition is not against the election, but it is concerned with what kind of Croatia it will be held in and on which territory. Croatia has not deserved incomplete elections, in an incomplete Croatia, for an incomplete Assembly, Racan concluded.

Vice Vukojevic rejected the claim that this was a case of revising the Constitution and suspending constitutional regulations, claiming that the application of norms was being postponed for only a certain time and the deadline for constituting the Assembly was approaching.

Sixty-five representatives voted against the enactment of the changed constitutional law, four abstained, and 172 representatives practically made the decision.

Istria Democratic Party Leader on Regionalization

92BA0912C Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 5 May 92 p 22

[Interview with Istrian Democratic Alliance President Ivan Jakovic by Darko Pavicic; place and date not given: "We Expect Dirty Elections"]

[Text] "Our beautiful country is a state that can be marvelously regionalized only if one knows how. The regionalization concept that was offered fell flat for us and the proposer had to withdraw it because it is completely anti-European and wrong. It is unlikely that eminent people do not know that regions pass their own laws, have legislative authority, and have their own governments and parliaments. With respect to regionalism among states—and that is our essential difference from others—we are advocating a regional community among the republics of Croatia, Slovenia, and Italy, when we are in the EC. There are about 10 such regions in Europe, and for the sake of the welfare of the regions, the Croatian authorities should include it in their state system," we were told by the president of the Istrian Democratic Alliance [IDS].

[Pavicic] How can one defend oneself from the attack that this will destroy Croatia's homogeneity and integrity?

[Jakovic] No one has challenged it, because that is unconstitutional and anyone who attempts it should be jailed. Nevertheless, no one can challenge those political forces which want to Europeanize Croatia as soon as possible. It has been written here that the Istria parish is an integral and inseparable part of Croatia, but no one can prohibit us from arranging interregional relations as we wish, like Germany and France, Belgium and the Netherlands, and Spain and France, for example.

[Pavicic] What makes Istria a region?

[Jakovic] The multilingualism and cultural pluralism of this area, the dialect, and the economic base. We are also working on a program for a so-called bioregion. This area's natural ties cannot be fettered.

Thus, for example, the goat, the symbol that we are using, was once on the Romans' shields. It is by far the oldest symbol on Croatia's flag, and one cannot then

ignore this and try to submerge Istria in some sort of macroregion. That would be total political blindness. Under fascism we managed to preserve our Croatian identity, and no one needs to inject us now with doses of a new Croatian identity. We do not want other people's Croatian identity; we want our own instead.

The proof of that is the fact that among the regions that were not caught up in the war, Istria has the highest percentage of response to the mobilization. That is an example of the functioning of a law-governed state, and we have said that no volunteer units of any kind are needed here.

[Pavicic] There is also talk about the possibility that Istrians might resist the authorities by setting up barricades.

[Jakovic] Barricades will not appear in Istria unless Istria experiences totalitarianism. I will not say that they will appear otherwise, but there will quite certainly be latent dissatisfaction against the government. It exists today, and consequently the regime in Croatia is not just becoming disliked in Europe, but is also beginning to make its own citizens nervous. If Istria is not guaranteed what it really is, that is, the right to regional autonomy that is appropriate for this region, not at the "highest" level in Europe, then there will be problems between the region and the metropolis.

[Pavicic] How is the IDS preparing for the elections?

[Jakovic] We will behave like all nonconventional parties. Of course, we will be present in the media, but we will also aim for detailed, pervasive promotion, because we expect dirty elections. In addition to a region, we are primarily offering Istria civil liberalism, and advocating an orientation that will be based on tourism and agriculture; institutionally, the region would promote tourism throughout the entire year, and agricultural products through the advertisement "made in Istria."

[Pavicic] And the headquarters of the parish?

[Jakovic] We consider this a one-party government, since both of the ministers who would perhaps be supposed to represent Istria are from the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community], which is not a significant party here. We are not, however, against the president of the republic's appointing ministers, because that is his right, but we are against his appointing the center of the parish. Pazin was the headquarters of the parish at the time of Bach's absolutism and the existence of the Istria district at the beginning of the last century. When other towns were dissatisfied with this, people started to talk about a change, and Mr. Bach said that it would not be done abruptly and that all the criteria and circumstances should be established. Pazin cannot be imposed as the center of the parish when no one in Istria wants it.

Rupel Proposes Revoking FRY UN Membership

AU2705084492 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 0500 GMT 27 May 92

[Uros Lipuscek report from New York]

[Text] Slovenia undertook its first diplomatic initiative at the UN yesterday. Foreign Minister Dr. Dimitrij Rupel sent a letter to UN Secretary General Butrus Ghali proposing that the UN Security Council immediately start the procedure to terminate the UN membership of the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY]. We have a short report by our New York correspondent Uros Lipuscek:

[Begin Lipuscek recording] The aforementioned demand is based on the fact that the former SFRY has disintegrated and does not exist any more, the Slovene foreign minister states. All former republics of this state have a right as the successor states to apply for membership in international organizations of which the former Yugoslavia was a member. Slovenia does not oppose a possible request by Serbia and Montenegro to become UN members. However, it is understandable that the candidates have to prove that they fulfill all requirements, that they support peace, the Slovene foreign minister writes in his letter to the UN secretary general. [end recording]

Prime Minister Discusses UN Membership

AU2205161092 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 22 May 92

[Interview with Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek by Matej Surc; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Surc] Mr. Drnovsek, Slovenia is a full-fledged UN member now. What does that mean for our country, what opportunities are opening to us, and what can Slovenia contribute to the organization?

[Drnovsek] Well, this day is, of course, very important for Slovenia. I think that we have finished a process, a phase of independence and international recognition of Slovenia. After being recognized by many countries, we are now being additionally recognized and admitted as a full member state by the UN. Today we actually became a full-fledged member of the world community. This is the first time in Slovene history, sovereign [as heard], so we can speak of a historic moment.

[Surc] What should be the first concrete steps of Slovenia in the UN following full admittance?

[Drnovsek] After admittance we will be, of course, able to fully participate in all UN debates and decisions adopted in the General Assembly. I also think that this will accelerate our admission to some UN institutions, especially the IMF and the World Bank. I also believe that through the UN we will be able to participate more actively in solving some problems on this territory, particularly with the refugee issue and a further political solution, if I may say so, [passage indistinct]. [end recording]

Croat-Muslim Agreement in Bosnia Viewed

AU2605183192 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 20 May 92 p 1

[Goran Moravcek commentary: "Through Coalition to Confederation?"]

[Text] At the end of last week the representatives of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Croats and Muslims triggered a political landslide at their secret meeting in Split that will shake the entire Balkans. Dr. Miljenko Brkic, president of the Croatian Democratic Community of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Irfan Ajanovic, representative of the Party of the Democratic Action, agreed that the ruling parties in the new state will support the idea of confederation between Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Although the Split agreement was merely a party agreement, we can expect that it will have far-reaching consequences. Namely, it has already been predicted that Dr. Franjo Tudjman and Alija Izetbegovic will meet soon and confirm what Dr. Brkic and Ajanovic had agreed. Some say that the anti-Serb military and political coalition was finally born in Split.

After much criticism regarding the poor cooperation between Croats and Muslims, which Slobodan Milosevic was utilizing skillfully, and gradually subordinating the former Yugoslavia to himself with the help of the Army, the military situation is also changing rapidly now. The Split agreement is also important because it invalidates the agreement in Graz by which Mate Boban [president of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosnia and Croatian Defense Council] and Radovan Karadzic [president of the Serbian Democratic Party] nearly divided Bosnia among themselves. The representatives of both nations that suffered brutal aggression by the Serbian army and five paramilitary organizations agreed that they will talk neither to the aggressor nor to Dr. Radovan Karadzic. For the first time, although considerably late, Alija Izetbegovic's party [Party of Democratic Action] has stated clearly who is its enemy and who is its friend. Doubtless the agreement will find a loud echo in the Croatian internal scene. Namely, the opposition demands an integral Bosnia-Hercegovina and advocates that the Serbian border be on the Drina River. Perhaps the Muslim-Croatian coalition will actually achieve this.

Slovene Paper on Bosnian Refugee Crisis

92BA0916A Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 30 Apr 92 p 3

[Article by Romana Dobnikar-Seruga: "Timid International Alarm"]

[Text] How long will we be able to continue accepting refugees? Where is the upper limit? "I think that we have already crossed that limit, and it is high time for someone to help us. In any case, I think that it would not be any catastrophe if Slovenia closed the border. We are an independent state, and all governments make use of that to protect their citizens."

These statements, which we read in SLOVENAC, were not made by a high government official, who viewed the refugees from Bosnia-Hercegovina [B-H] in Slovenia, on the basis of his official duties, primarily from the standpoint of so-called national interests (or in accordance with parliament's guidelines, if those existed), but rather by Mirko Jelenic, secretary general of the Red Cross, i.e., an organization that until now we thought was a humanitarian one, and not a "state-building" one. Yesterday's incident during the talks between the Assembly commission on international relations and a delegation from the socialist faction in the European Parliament is still characteristic of Slovene refugee policy. It is not that the guests were the first ones to bring up the problem of the refugees in Slovenia, instead of their hosts' having already pointed out the critical situation in the beginning; instead, our deputies did not even know how to answer the question of whether Slovenia had even asked the EC for humanitarian assistance already....

Does a clearly defined refugee policy already exist, or are different people making statements on the basis of their own personal positions (by the way, the above-mentioned Red Cross official ought to resign, because of a statement that was completely contrary to the basic principles of humanitarian activity!)? How many of those carrying out refugee policy are taking into account the opinions of experts, and how many are taking into account the (presumed) attitude of the voters and the serious economic situation? Where can the state draw a line under its humanitarianism, and start to protect only its own interests? Who is authorized to internationalize the refugee problem? Is anyone in particular making an effort to publicize our refugee crisis in foreign media? Who is responsible for maintaining contacts with the B-H authorities? And who is supposed to head and coordinate all these activities at different levels, from the operational to the diplomatic level?

It seems that currently the only generally accepted basis for refugee policy is that Slovenia simply cannot take care of as many refugees as are being predicted for it. Probably some citizens also agree with the policy that Slovenia should close its borders to the refugees, but no public opinion poll has yet determined how many. There are also very different views on the threshold of our refugee "tolerance": 5,000, 10,000, 50,000 refugees? There has to be a choice: whether we should renounce a restrictive refugee policy (the kind that many European states have decided on), in the name of humanitarianism and taking into account the norms of international law to which we must adhere, or whether we should close our southeastern border, in the name of the state's completely legitimate security interests. There are also several other types of measures, which are even more unpleasant (and also illegal from the standpoint of international law): rejecting refugees on the basis of age, sex, and area of residence. It would be good if all those dealing with refugees learned what the international legal status and protection of refugees are like, what the difference is between displaced persons and refugees, what the concept of "internationalization of the refugee problem" means, what the legal basis and method of operation of the UN High Commission for Refugees are like, etc. If they were more familiar with these matters, they certainly would not compare the refugees from B-H to the Albanian people from the boats in Italy (and use the expulsion of those people to justify our intentions of closing the border), since the latter were not refugees in the international legal meaning of that word, because they were not the victims of persecution because of their religion or ethnic identity, but rather fled their homes because of the extremely difficult economic situation.

At the time when refugees began to arrive from B-H in greater numbers, Slovene politics was obviously too busy with party negotiations with the new prime minister-designate to deal in a timely and thorough manner with assessing the scope and rate of the wave of refugees, much less sound an international alarm. In fact, if internationalization of the refugee problem had been handled with as much fervor as the recent struggle for the state's international recognition, at least the first railcars of food from West Europe would probably have come already, and perhaps there would already have been negotiations on what quotas of refugees the neighboring states would be prepared to accept.

To be sure, the threat of closing the border is a useful negotiating tool, but it has to be accompanied by appropriate positive actions. One of the possibilities, for instance, would also be calling upon the B-H leadership (or pressuring it) to keep the refugees on their own territories, where battles are not going on. Slovenia would come to their assistance in taking care of them, not just out of solidarity with B-H, but also because of our interest in continually calling the attention of Europe and the entire international community to the fact that what is happening in B-H is an attack against a sovereign and independent state, and that the refugees from B-H do not fit into the category of "internal displaced persons" who have to be taken care of by the states of the former Yugoslavia, but rather the category of real refugees, who have to be protected and taken care of by the entire international community. With a sort of mental detachment from the war in our vicinity ("we do not have any more obligations to the states of the former Yugoslavia than any other European state"), we will not lighten our refugee burden by a single gram.

Telephone Poll Shows Approval of Drnovsek

92BA0916B Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 30 Apr 92 p 2

[Article by Slava Partlic: "Public Opinion on Drnovsek's Side"—first paragraph is DELO introduction]

[Text] Three-fourths of the respondents are satisfied that parliament elected Janez Drnovsek as prime minister-designate.

Ljubljana, 29 Apr—Yesterday's DELO STIK telephone poll indicates that there was a great deal of public interest in the outcome of the last vote on a contructive

vote of no confidence in Peterle's government, since 60.8 percent of the respondents listened to the new prime minister-designate's opening speech immediately after the election.

Three-fourths of the respondents (74.9 percent) stated that they were satisfied with the outcome of the vote. Only 17.9 percent of the respondents were dissatisfied, and 7.3 percent of them said that it really did not matter to them.

Those who believe that Dr. Drnovsek's election opens up possibilities for the economic rebirth of Slovenia, as already stated, are mostly betting on his competence. Those who do not believe this (16.5 percent) base their lack of confidence primarily (50 percent) upon his not saying anything new in the announcement of his program, but also (20 percent each) upon his already having gone astray in appointing ministers, and his obviously not yet having a program.

A full half of the respondents do not agree with the comment that the left has now taken power in Slovenia. A third of these think that these are contrived assertions, while even more (39 percent) think that the parties with a centrist orientation have taken power. Only a fifth justified their disagreement with the comment that the left has taken power with the argument that the differences among the parties are not that great.

Only a fourth of the respondents (24.7 percent) agree with the statement that the left has come to power in Slovenia, and most of these (63.7 percent) think so because there are many representatives of the old regime among the "new ones." A third agree with the comment because exclusively opposition parties are in power.

Of course, the respondents were also asked which parties they would vote for if elections were to be held, for instance, as early as next week. Most of the respondents (nearly 40 percent) could not or did not want to choose, and 4.8 percent explicitly stated that they would not vote. Among those who committed themselves—there were only 230 of them, because of the relatively small sample—Drnovsek's Liberal Democrats received by far the most votes. Peterle's Christian Democrats are in second place, with almost four times fewer votes. They are followed by Ribicic's Reformers. Fourth and fifth place are shared, so to speak, by Pucnik's Social Democrats and Bavcar's Democrats, and they are followed by Plut's Greens, Oman's People's Party, and, at the very end, Pirnat's National Democrats and Golja's Liberals.

The uncommitted respondents were asked to say at least which parties they would certainly not vote for. A full half of them also did not know how to answer this question either, or did not want to. The rest of them spread their "dislikes" among all the parties. In spite of this, Peterle's Christian Democrats received most of them. Ribicic's Reformers, who are in second place for dislikes, lag considerably behind them. The other parties—from Pucnik's Social Democrats, Pirnat's National Democrats, and Golja's Liberals to Oman's People's Party and Bavcar's Democrats—are rather uniform in "dislikes," at least in our poll.

One can hear comments that the left has taken power in Slovenia. Do you agree with this? *(in percent)*

Yes	24.7
No	52.8
Don't know	22.5

International

EC Agrees to Embargo Against Serbia, Montenegro

LD2605185392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1721 GMT 26 May 92

[Text] Brussels, May 26 (TANJUG)—The governments of the European Community countries agreed to impose a trade embargo against Serbia and Montenegro, said Portuguese delegation circles in Brussels on Tuesday.

The embargo would apply to both import and export of goods and services to and from the republics which make up the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Portuguese delegation circles said the embargo had been agreed in principle by ranking government officials of the European Community countries in Brussels on Tuesday.

The sources said there were no major objections to the embargo, but there was a dilemma about its effectiveness unless it was implemented by the whole international community, or more precisely, unless it is ordered by the United Nations Security Council.

The meeting of ranking E.C. continues [as received] in Brussels on Tuesday evening and probably also on Wednesday.

Presidency Examines UN Documents on Situation

LD2505175692 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1526 GMT 25 May 92

[Text] Belgrade, 25 May (TANJUG)—At its session today, the Yugoslav Presidency examined a report by the UN secretary general dated 21 May regarding the deployment of UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] on the territory under the UN protection, a demarche by the president of the UN Security Council dated 21 May, and the text of UN Security Council resolution No. 752 dated 15 May this year.

It was concluded that a message should be sent to UN Secretary General Butrus Ghali conveying the basic positions of the Yugoslav Presidency and Government regarding the issues mentioned in the said documents, a statement from the session says.

Regarding the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Yugoslav Presidency assumed stands which stress:

At the Conference on Yugoslavia, in the United Nations, and during bilateral meetings, Yugoslavia has on all occasions offered valid arguments and warned of the danger of interethnic war breaking out if decisions on the future of Bosnia-Hercegovina are adopted before political agreement has been reached between representatives of the three constituent nations in this republic. Although these warnings were not taken into consideration, and were followed by the outbreak of interethnic war—claiming a huge number of casualties—those who caused the tragedy are not being held responsible and responsibility is totally wrongfully being shifted onto the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav Assembly has endorsed a special declaration that Yugoslavia has no territorial pretensions toward its neighbors, including Bosnia-Hercegovina, and that it will not thwart the admission of secessionist Yugoslav republics into the international legal system. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has been strictly abiding by these positions.

All citizens of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia who were involved in military matters in Bosnia-Hercegovina were withdrawn to the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia by 19 May, together with their equipment and weapons.

The border with Bosnia-Hercegovina has been closed for 30 days to armed individuals and groups who are denied any possible crossing. In Bosnia-Hercegovina there are only three remaining barracks with military cadets, including about 1,500 youngsters up to the age of 17 whose evacuation has been thwarted by Muslim paramilitary organizations. The Presidency of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Yugoslavia's military organs no longer have any authority nor are they they making any decisions regarding the conflicts in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

There are about 30,000 soldiers of the Croatian regular army in Bosnia-Hercegovina in addition to paramilitary formations of the Muslim, Serbian, and Croatian people. The Yugoslav Peoples' Army [JNA] has withdrawn from this area and now the three national groups are waging war while Yugoslavia and its army, which is not involved there, are still being groundlessly accused. It is only involved in its commitment to a peaceful solution to the dispute and to humanitarian actions.

The crisis and clashes in Bosnia-Hercegovina can only be solved by political agreement and political consensus on the part of representatives of the three constituent nations in this republic. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia pledges full support to the talks in Lisbon under EC auspices and under the chairmanship of Ambassador Cutilheiro, and maintains that the United Nations should concentrate on this only viable and realistic way of halting the confrontation in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

At the Yugoslav Presidency's session the following was particularly pointed out:

In its capacity as a member of the United Nations, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will do its utmost and conduct itself in solidarity with the world organization's activities and decisions and as well as in keeping with the fact that Bosnia-Hercegovina is not part of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has an interest, and is willing, to become involved to the full in order to

enable the United Nations and international humanitarian organizations to operate unhindered in Bosnia-Hercegovina. To this effect its readiness was expressed to facilitate the despatch of humanitarian aid to Bosnia-Hercegovina and particularly to Sarajevo via the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. To this effect, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is appealing to all the parties involved in the blockade of Sarajevo airport to immediately lift their blockade of the airport so as to facilitate the sending of humanitarian aid and that the UNPROFOR should take control of Sarajevo airport and the provision of aid.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is publicly calling on all warring sides to immediately cease the bombardment of Sarajevo and Mostar and the destruction of other towns and historical monuments; it is also dissociating itself from all unacceptable deeds by some army formations in Bosnia-Hercegovina including formations of the Serbian people, and is appealing on all sides to observe the cease- fire and to patiently seek a political solution.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is again calling on representatives of the Serbian nation in Bosnia-Hercegovina to cooperate to the maximum with representatives of the United Nations, the International Red Cross, the High Commission for Refugees, and representatives of other international institutions in this field.

The Yugoslav Presidency also holds that an urgent visit by a group of representatives of members of the UN Secusity Council to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and to Bosnia-Hercegovina would greatly help in gaining a more complete and objective picture about the real situation. In this way, the reaching of conclusions based on presumptions rather than on established facts will be avoided.

Regarding the situation on the territory under the protection of the United Nations, the Yugoslav Presidency has also this time stated that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, including the Yugoslav Army, will as before carry out all obligations that it took upon itself when it accepted the peace plan and will comprehensively cooperate with UNPROFOR commands and units, which is also expected from other signatories to the peace operation.

At its session, today the Yugoslav Presidency urged full cooperation with the United Nations, particularly in the implementation of UN Security Council decisions, it pointed at the full commitment of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to the goals and principles of the UN Charter and of the CSCE and to a peaceful resolution of the Yugoslav crisis within the Conference on Yugoslavia and the Conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina, the statement says in conclusion.

Sends Letter To UN

LD2605141792 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1220 GMT 26 May 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, May 26 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Presidency Vice-President Branko Kostic on Monday sent a letter to U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus Ghali on behalf of the Presidency and the Government of Yugoslavia.

Following are the key excerpts relating to current events in Yugoslavia and its former republics:

"The Presidency and Government of Yugoslavia fully appreciate the justified concern of the United Nations Organization over the Yugoslav crisis, and the efforts to overcome it. We have repeatedly underlined and we wish to do so once again, that involvement of the United Nations could be the most effective factor in bringing about a peaceful, just and durable solution to the outstanding problems.

"In that connection, we wish to express the sincere readiness of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to cooperate with the United Nations with a view to making its efforts fully effective.

"However, we have to note, Mr. Secretary-General, the immense disappointment and indignation of the Presidency, the Government and the citizens of Yugoslavia at finding ourselves accused, without any cause or valid reason, and despite our persistent endeavours to bring about a peaceful settlement to the Yugoslav crisis and of particularly to the conflicts in Bosnia-Hercegovina, of committing aggression against that republic, without any argument being offered to back up such accusations.

"Yugoslavia has on every occasion, including the conference on Yugoslavia, in the organization of United Nations and in bilateral meetings, persistently warned of the danger of an internecine war breaking out in the event of any hasty decisions on the future of Bosnia-Hercegovina prior to a political settlement having been negotiated among the three constituent nations of that republic.

"Those warnings went unheeded. An internecine war has broken out, taking a vast toll in human lives, and it should be stopped as soon as possible. However, the responsibility for that war is being shifted from those who have provoked it and is being planted instead, without any justification, on Serbia and Montenegro.

"The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has demonstrated a maximum degree of tolerance with respect to the premature decisions on the international recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina. A special declaration was issued by the Assembly of Yugoslavia stating that this country has no territorial clams on its neighbours and therefore none on that republic either, and that it would not stand in the

way of the breakaway Yugoslav republics being integrated in international legal institutions. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is consistently abiding by those positions.

"The Presidency of Yugoslavia decided on the day of the promulgation of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, i.e. on April 27 this year, that it would reduce the Army of Yugoslavia to the territory and citizens of Yugoslavia. As a result, all the citizens of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia who had been in the YPA (Yugoslav People's Army) troops in that republic were withdrawn by May 19 this year, together with their share of equipment and armaments. All that remained were three blocked barracks of military cadets with some 1,500 boys under 17 years of age in them whose withdrawal was rendered impossible by paramilitary Moslem organizations. Efforts to withdraw, with the help of special teams, a part of the remaining heavy weaponry were prevented by paramilitary Moslem and Croat units which massacred the members of the teams appointed by the Army to perform this task in the towns of Tuzla and Sarajevo.

"The Presidency of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the military authorities of Yugoslavia no longer have any jurisdiction in Bosnia-Hercegovina nor are they taking any decisions that could affect the conflict in that republic, apart from the fact that they wish to assist any peace-making or humanitarian action.

"In addition to paramilitary units composed of members of the Moslem, Serb and Croat people living in Bosnia-Hercegovina, there are about 30,000 members of regular Croatian troops in that republic or a total of over 150,000 men under arms. Surely it is self- evident that more than 60,000 Moslems and 40,000 Croats have been armed with the help of Croatia and those external forces which are adding fuel to the flames of internecine conflicts, while the Yugoslav People's Army was the only legal armed force present there. Nonetheless, it was the one that was the object of the worst political accusations. Now that it has withdrawn from the region, not only is a blind eye being turned to the fact that the war is being waged among the three ethnic groups, but Yugoslavia and its Army, which is no longer engaged there, are continuing to be blamed without any reason.

"Yugoslavia has repeatedly stressed that the only way to deal with the crisis and conflicts in Bosnia-Hercegovina is via political negotiations and a political consensus among the representatives of the three constituent nations of that republic."

"The option of sanctions against Yugoslavia on the basis of unsubstantiated claims of aggression is deeply unfair and wrong. History knows of no case of a country threatening another without using the Army. As of May 19 this year, not a single soldier who is a citizen of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia remains in that republic and the borders with Bosnia-Hercegovina have been closed for 30 days now for any crossings by armed individuals or groups who might try to make them.

"History knows of no case, either, of the citizens of a country that has been the object of aggression fleeing to the country committing the aggression. We are referring to the numerous Moslem refugees from Bosnia-Hercegovina who are seeking shelter on the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

"It is our firm conviction that the key to the solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina must be sought in Sarajevo, not in Belgrade. The FR [Federal Republic] Yugoslavia, and the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro, will wholeheartedly support any action conducive to a settlement of the crisis.

"With regard to the takeover of responsibility by the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] in sector east and the breaches of cease-fire, I believe that UNPROFOR commanders report to you regularly the daily breaches of cease-fire, i.e. the non-compliance with the agreement by the Croatian armed forces and the Republic of Croatia.

"YPA units have almost fully withdrawn from UNPAs [United Nations Protected Areas] in Eastern Slavonia. They are ready to withdraw completely and in the shortest possible time, provided that the UNPROFOR ensures that Croatian forces will not breach the cease-fire or make any advance movements.

"As for the breaches of cease-fire, the Presidency has been informed by the YPA and the local authorities in the zones concerned that such breaches were invariably made by the Croatian side, while YPA units or local forces retaliated only in the most serious instances.

"Instances of forced expulsion of non-Serbian population in sector east have been reported to us by General Nambiar and Mr. Thornberry. Mr. Golding was assured, on his latest visit, on May 7, 1992, of our resolve not to allow any forced displacements, regardless of nationality. In each specific instance, we have ordered meticulous investigation and energetic reaction by the responsible authorities to correct possible injustices and prevent new incidents.

"The Presidency has received serious assurances from the local authorities that complete security and unhindered return shall be guaranteed to the entire population, without any discrimination on grounds of nationality, and that additional measures shall be taken to prevent any forced displacement of population. There are indications that some non-Serbian population moved out without being forced to do so, which instances have been misrepresented in order to compromise the local authorities.

"Yugoslavia is very anxious to see a peaceful and lasting political solution found to the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina as soon as possible. Yugoslavia hereby declares that, as a UN member, it shall participate with maximum commitment in UN activities and decisions

and act in concert with them, but in keeping with the fact that Bosnia-Hercegovina is not a part of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

"The FR Yugoslavia is ready and willing to do its utmost to help unhindered engagement of the United Nations and international humanitarian organizations in Bosnia-Hercegovina. To this end, it is ready to enable humanitarian aid to be transported across its territory to Bosnia-Hercegovina, and especially Sarajevo.

"The FR Yugoslavia shall publicly dissociate itself from all unacceptable acts committed by paramilitary formations in Bosnia- Hercegovina, including formations of the Serbian population, and appeal for the cease-fire to be observed in favour of patient search for a political solution.

"Furthermore, the FR Yugoslavia shall call upon the members of the Serbian population in Bosnia-Hercegovina to give their maximum cooperation to representatives of the UN, the International Red Cross, the High Commissioner for Refugees, and representatives of other international institutions in the field.

"In conclusion, Mr. Secretary-General, allow me to express my belief that an urgent visit by representatives of the members of the Security Council to the FR Yugoslavia and to Bosnia-Hercegovina would help a great deal in providing a more complete and objective picture of the real situation, and in avoiding judgements based on assumptions, rather than established facts", the letter said.

Presidency Urges Talks With Bosnia on Military

LD1205172192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1549 GMT 26 May 92

[Text] Belgrade, 26 May (TANJUG)—In order to resolve the open questions regarding military equipment and military industry in Bosnia-Hercegovina's territory, the Yugoslav Presidency concluded at its session today that a meeting should be held as soon as possible between Vice President Kostic, on behalf of the Yugoslav Presidency; Col.-Gen. Zivota Panic, on behalf of the Army of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia; President Alija Izetbegovic, on behalf of the Bosnia-Hercegovina rump presidency; and representatives of all three constituent peoples, appointed by the leaderships of these peoples.

According to the statement, at this meeting all issues in relation to military industry and equipment located on Bosnia-Hercegovina's territory should be examined in detail. To this effect Vice President of the Yugoslav Presidency Branko Kostic has sent a letter to the representatives of Bosnia-Hercegovina's leadership and all three constituent peoples, and proposed that this meeting be held either in Belgrade, Podgorica or Skopje on 28 May, it is said at the end of the statement.

JAT Appeals to Bush To Reconsider Decision

LD2605224792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2217 GMT 26 May 92

[Text] New York, 26 May (TANJUG)—JAT, the Yugoslav airline, has today sent an appeal to U.S. President George Bush to reconsider the decision revoking JAT landing rights in the United States. The appeal is made in "a JAT open letter" to President Bush via JAT Director General for America Radislav Milanovic.

Sanctions denying the JAT landing rights in the United States fail to distinguish between the complexity of internal events in Yugoslavia and the JAT contribution to resolving humanitarian and economic problems, the letter says.

JAT is not just a Serbian company, because people from all parts of Yugoslavia, selected for their ability, are working in it. It has been a member of the international airline community for 65 years and it is a bridge between East Europe and the West. JAT has spent $2 billion on American planes, and these investments have not been made with the good of Serbia in mind, but with the good of the company which has served well all nations of Yugoslavia.

"Internal divisions in the country have turned JAT into a sacrificial lamb and seriously endangered its economic survival," the letter says, recalling that in 1990—the last "normal" year before the outbreak of hostilities in Yugoslavia—JAT carried 103,000 passengers from America to Yugoslavia and had a turnover of $70 million.

Kostic Comments on Foreign Military Intervention

AU2605152392 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 26 May 92

["Excerpt" from interview with Branko Kostic, vice-president of the Yugoslav Presidency, by Belgrade Radio reporter Branislav Marinkov in Belgrade on 26 May—recorded]

[Text] [Marinkov] I must say that some residents are frightened. They are afraid that war will reach these territories, they are afraid of the threat of our towns being bombed. How realistic is this possibility?

[Kostic] Well, you see I do not believe that there are people among us who are particularly brave while others have difficulties living through all this. I believe that we all have a reason to be, if not scared, then worried by all their threats of military intervention and so on. I believe, however, that it nevertheless represents an integral element of the psychological pressure that has been exerted upon us and timed to take place at this very moment, before the forthcoming elections. Namely, the multiparty parliamentary elections for the federal assembly. A successful outcome in these elections will obviously represent a great obstacle to the authors of such a scenario, and all those who are preparing ground for

similar actions toward greater countries in the future to impose and meddle in such circumstances into the internal affairs of an independent and sovereign state, where the residents chose their representatives at free, multi-party elections.

Therefore, I believe that a threat of individual towns being bombed is largely a result of imagination and, let me say, the extremist individuals or forces within the EC. I do not exclude the possibility of someone opting for such an adventure, but I believe that this very clearly demonstrated that, even if it had not been for the (?elections) in the United States, any reasonable politician would find it difficult to decide to send his soldiers to the Balkans and especially Serbia and Bosnia-Hercegovina. All this, simply because each of these politicians would then have to account for the first coffins that would start arriving from here to their electorate.

Federal

Kostic Emphasizes Presidency's Control Over Army

LD2605012192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2251 GMT 25 May 92

[Text] Belgrade, 25 May (TANJUG)—It is not true, as some claim, that the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) is getting beyond the control of civilian authorities, Yugoslav Presidency Vice President Branko Kostic told the independent TV station Studio B this evening.

Kostic stressed that the Yugoslav Presidency, as the supreme commander, has had the opportunity to control the JNA at each and every moment, and the General Staff has observed Presidency decisions. "In this context, I say that most of the criticism of the Army for its indecisiveness, its stop-and-go policy, and so on, was made incorrectly; the criticized decisions were not the result of Army deliberations but rather decisions of the Presidency, which made them in its capacity as supreme commander."

Asked by a Studio B TV journalist about the changes in the top brass and who should have been held accountable, Branko Kostic stressed that "this does not mean that any of these people can be accused of treason, although the public was making these assessments. We cannot, however, assess ourselves at this moment. The people—its representatives—should be one of the elements making judgments about how the Presidency worked in its capacity as supreme commander. And if representatives in the last Federal Assembly will not give their judgment, then deputies in the new Federal parliament can do so."

Regarding the resignation of Major General Vuk Obradovic, Branko Kostic said that Obradovic tendered his resignation and "asked the Presidency to accept his resignation for moral reasons," because he made a promise to parents of soldiers still in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

"I could ask whether Vuk Obradovic had reason to do this and whether he should have made such a categorical promise to the parents; he and his aides worked systematically on lifting the blockade of barracks and getting those children out of the barracks," Kostic said.

"On this subject, I think it is good that we have not used force, although we could have used it. Despite the fact that we cannot trust the other side involved, I think we have already achieved some results," Yugoslav Presidency Vice President Branko Kostic said.

Raseta 'Disappointed' With Retirement

92BA0918A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 13 May 92 p 11

[Article by R. Pavlovic: "I Am Not Surprised, but I Am Disappointed"—first paragraph is POLITIKA introduction]

[Text] After the Presidency's decision on the generals' retirement; "There should be a political evaluation of all of them, the Presidency, the Assembly, diplomacy.... I am not Tito's general, but rather Yugoslavia's," says Andrija Raseta.

We will know how the 38 recently retired generals of the former JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] personally received the radical changes in the military leadership when the retired high officers hang up their uniforms and decide, as is customary anyway, that cool heads will speak out about it all.

Most of them are still performing their regular duties as if nothing has happened, and as we have learned unofficially, even though the retirement orders are already ready, some of the generals, as the military put it, will be made available to the army until the end of the year.

Yesterday we found Lieutenant General Andrija Raseta, who is now already the former deputy chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces and former member of the State Committee for Cooperation with the UN Peacekeeping Forces, in his working office at the SSNO [Federal Secretariat for National Defense], because he was buried in work.

"It Is Most Difficult for Military Personnel"

He said that a great deal of work had been left undone, and he also had to talk with Mr. Doyle, Lord Carrington's emissary.

"I am not surprised by the retirement," Raseta first commented, "but I am disappointed by the way in which it was done. It was not decided humanely. People should have been told what the reasons were, and individual responsibility should have been determined. There is also political blame in this regard, and not everyone can

be lumped together. It is not humane, for instance, for someone who is on the front—and there are several such people—to find out from the news that he has been retired. What if he had died?" General Raseta asked.

He added that it was worst for military personnel. Soldiers and officers, whether they like it or not, have to carry out the policy of the state. The army did not act outside the system. If it did wrong, then the policy was not good. Consequently, General Raseta thinks, a political evaluation should be made of everyone—the Presidency, the Assembly, and diplomacy. "I am personally disappointed with diplomacy. It invested more work in 'Desert Storm' than it did in the 'Yugoslav storm.'"

We asked General Raseta about the Presidency as the commander in chief.

"It is impossible for an army to do what the commander in chief does not want. The Presidency should have anticipated events. Should people be replaced after those events? We all participated in preparing for the transformation of the JNA, for its reduction. We were aware that people would be leaving. But, I ask you, the headquarters of the commander in chief was not aware of how we lived under the old regime? A person cannot change radically in two years. Those new 'younger' generals also grew up when we did, and enjoyed all the privileges. One can only speak of such officers in 10 years, officers who will arise in the new state, and will be trained differently."

The Furor Over "Some Sort of Benefits"

"I am not Tito's general, but rather Yugoslavia's. Perhaps we were too Yugoslav-oriented. Can that really be a condemnation?" General Raseta said.

Our interlocutor mentioned in particular that it was painful for him that a furor was being raised in public over some sort of benefits for generals. He particularly criticized the younger officers who are making inappropriate statements, and journalists for "praising little people, and burying the great ones." Regarding himself, he said that he had spent almost his entire career at war: in the demonstrations in Kosovo in 1968, with the UN troops in the Sinai, and now in the conflicts from Slovenia to Bosnia-Hercegovina. "I have two years left before retirement, and I do not have an apartment. It was confiscated in Zagreb, which was better than the notorious 'flower shop'—who knows when that will be finished. I do not have to go to the 'flower shop'—if only it did not exist. But they should give me some sort of apartment; I have probably earned it," said Raseta.

In response to a question about what he thought of the replacement of General Kukanjac, he said:

"He was fighting several wars at the same time. His units were fighting in Croatia and Bosnia, i.e., in two states, while he belonged to a third one. He is a person who was used to trusting people, but in this dirty war one can hardly trust people's treaties, much less their word. He conducted negotiations, battles, policy. That is too much of a burden for a strong command, much less for one person," Andrija Raseta said in conclusion.

Generals Discuss Their 'Unexpected' Retirement

92BA0925B Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 May 92 p 13

[Article by G. Katic: "The (Un)expected Departure of the Generals"]

[Text] The resignation of Colonel General Blagoje Adzic had still not been justified in public as of yesterday. Nor had the retiring generals received any written document, and they had mainly learned about their retirement from the newspapers. Yesterday, BORBA managed to contact a number of generals who live and work in Belgrade. Adzic's chief of staff, Colonel Pavlovic, told us that the former federal secretary had gone home early and that he did not believe that Blagoje Adzic wanted to talk to newsmen. He promised us that sometime today he would consult with General Adzic about the possibility of BORBA readers nevertheless learning the content of his resignation.

Going back, military personnel can be retired on three grounds. First, when there are the maximum conditions: both age and years of service. The second possibility is when only one of these two conditions has been met, and third, when neither of those conditions obtains, but when the needs of the service so require.

It is evident from a survey that the generals were retired on all three grounds, but most of them were nevertheless terminated on the third basis. Lieutenant Colonel General Zivan Mircetic, former chief of staff, but recently commandant of the postsecondary military schools of the air force and air defense, spoke about his retirement:

"I think that our removal, that is, retirement, can be explained by those who did it. I would like to see that explanation. However, if some improvement should come of this, I would be very happy. I wish those who removed us all the best. I, of course, did not know that I would be removed. I learned of this at 9:00 [AM or PM not specified] on Saturday, from the newspaper."

Lt. Col. Gen. Tihomir Grujic, now the former chief of the Serbian Republic staff:

"I did not know that I would be removed, nor do I know with what sin I am being charged. I am surprised, and that is that."

Before his retirement, Col. Gen. Milan Ruzinovski was director of the Center of Military Postsecondary Schools and in part fulfilled the conditions for retirement, because he has sufficient years of service:

"I expected to be retired. The process of reorganization has been going on for quite a long time now, and what happened on Saturday was just that. Anyone who expected that there would be no change in military personnel in the new Yugoslavia was frivolous."

Col. Gen. Slavoljub Dokic says:

"I am retiring on the basis of conditions fulfilled. I am not dissatisfied to leave, I was expecting retirement. I do not wish to make statements about the retirement of the others."

Major General Mate Pehar taught at the Ground Forces Academy and went into early retirement from the Center of Military Postsecondary Schools. He told BORBA:

"I did not know that I would be retired, nor did I expect it. However, I am leaving calmly, and my conscience is clear. I worked as much as I was able, I was happy with the people I worked with, and they can best confirm how we got along. When the situation is what it is, I have no reasons to be angry. Nor does it make any sense to try to find any justification now. Important and valuable people like Adzic, Djokic, and Cubra have departed, and it is an honor for me to be leaving with them. The journalists should be ashamed of the nonsense and stupidities which they have written these past days. I am a Yugoslav and I leave as a Yugoslav. I really cannot be responsible for the behavior of distant relatives. My property is also 'large.' I have a car, a 12-year-old Ladja, and a basement apartment that has ants and cats. Nevertheless, let us be clear about it, I feel no resentment at leaving."

Serbia

Government Invites Kosovo Albanians for Talks

LD2705133892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1045 GMT 27 May 92

[Text] Belgrade, May 26 (TANJUG)—The Government of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia has invited representatives of all ethnic Albanian political parties and movements in its Province of Kosovo-Metohija to come to Belgrade on May 28 for dialogue on the upcoming federal and municipal elections.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY), which comprises Serbia and Montenegro, has called federal and local parliamentary elections for May 31.

As announced on Wednesday, the invitation stresses the government's readiness to discuss all questions "in connection with the exercise of the rights guaranteed under the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia to all the citizens of its provinces."

The Republic of Serbia comprises two provinces—Vojvodina and Kosovo-Metohija.

Ethnic Albanians are a minority in Serbia and the FRY and account for some 16 percent of the population. However, they form the majority population of Kosovo-Metohija, and are boycotting the political life of the state in which they live, following the separatistic dictates of their leaders.

Ethnic Albanians in Yugoslavia have all the rights guaranteed to ethnic minorities under the relevant international documents. However, they do not have the right to secession.

In an unlawful referendum last year, ethnic Albanians in Kosovo- Metohija proclaimed their own "Republic of Kosovo" and set up their parallel organs of authority in that part of Serbia.

In their illegitimate elections on Sunday, ethnic Albanians elected Ibrahim Rugova, the leader of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, president of their "Republic of Kosovo." They returned 100 deputies to the "Kosovo republican parliament," 96 of whom are members of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo.

Ethnic Albanian leaders have refused to come to talks held in the provincial capital of Pristina earlier in May by Serbian Premier Radoman Bozovic with officials of the local parties and associations on the political situation in Kosovo-Metohija. They insisted at the time on separate talks.

Veton Suroi's parliamentary party, one of the ethnic Albanian parties in Kosovo-Metohija, at the time deplored the fact that no dialogue materialized.

In explanation, the party offered that "contact was not established in good time with ethnic Albanian leaders, who had previous engagements out of the country at the time of Bozovic's visit to Pristina."

Milosevic Holds Talks With Russia's Kozyrev

LD2605213192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2037 GMT 26 May 92

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 26 May (TANJUG)—TANJUG has learned from unofficial sources that Russian Foreign Affairs Minister Andrey Kozyrev, who arrived in Belgrade following his several-hour visit to Sarajevo, has met Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. Details of the talks, which—as learned from unofficial sources—are being held in Dobanovci, are not known. The Russian foreign minister, who is on a peace mission to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the former Yugoslav republics, will end his mission with a visit to Skopje tomorrow. [passage omitted]

Government Urges International Aid for Refugees

LD2605194292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1722 GMT 26 May 92

[Text] Belgrade, 26 May (TANJUG)—The Government of the Republic of Serbia has today called on all interested parties and international humanitarian organizations to make efforts to reach as soon as possible an agreement on coordination of aid, which is being offered or is arriving, in line with the principle of equal treatment of all refugees.

In a statement given to TANJUG, the government stresses its readiness to take an active part in international meetings on aid, which will be held in other countries. Aware of the urgent need for food in Sarajevo, the government has decided to urgently send an aid convoy with 100 tonnes of food to the citizens of the city, irrespective of their national affiliation.

It is stressed that hitherto tragic and fratricidal clashes in Bosnia-Hercegovina led not just to enormous casualties and sufferings among the civilian population of all nationalities, but also to hundreds of thousands of refugees in neighboring republics.

The number of refugees from Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia in Yugoslavia, and primarily in Serbia, is more than 300,000 people, a statement says, underlining the need for the international community to show equal solidarity to all refugees irrespective of their nationality and their country of abode.

The Serbian Government recalls its resolute stance that peace and a comprehensive political solution based on consensus are the only way of overcoming the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina and finding a just and lasting solution.

Poll on Economic Situation in Serbia

92BA0907A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3 May 92 p 13

[Article by B. Stepanovic: "The Trip Into the Abyss"]

[Text] The economic situation in the republic occupying the space of the former Yugoslavia is continuing to deteriorate—the market position of enterprises over the period from mid-March to mid-April is still more unfavorable than in the preceding month, that is what the results show from a survey of the Market Research Institute in Belgrade which embraced about 300 organizations in Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia-Hercegovina [B-H], and Macedonia.

Production is dropping uninterruptedly, and one of the causes is the constant shortage of raw materials for normal use of capacity. On the average, 50 percent of the productive plant lacks sufficient raw materials for production, and the situation is worst with consumer goods, where all of 53 percent of producers do not have inventories of raw materials for normal conduct of business.

Demand is also down since the beginning of the year—export demand is continuing to drop, while domestic demand for the moment is still growing, but less than in previous months, when this growth was greater. Export orders, which in February recorded a mild increase, are now dropping once again, which especially applies to consumer goods and production equipment, says Tomislav Milisavljevic, M.A., a researcher in the Market Research Institute in Belgrade.

Retail prices were up 72.2 percent in April, which is an increase of 376.8 percent since the beginning of the year. The cost of living rose 66 percent in April, and the increase since the beginning of the year is 394.5 percent. Last month, 67.9 percent more money had to be set aside for food alone, which is a somewhat milder growth than retail prices in general. The explanation, according to what Milisavljevic said, lies in the fact that agricultural products in April rose "only" 50.9 percent, while the prices of industrial products rose 76.3 percent.

Judging by the responses obtained from the producers surveyed, even in the coming period we cannot anticipate that prices will stop rising. Over the next three months, 87 percent of the industrial producers anticipate a rise of prices, which is a slight drop compared to March, when 89 percent of industrial producers answered affirmatively. And over the period of the next six months, 89 percent of the producers announced price increases in the April survey, while in March 93 percent of those surveyed foresaw price increases for their products. The explanation, in the opinion of Tomislav Milisavljevic, lies in the fact that business executives expect the government to adopt an anti-inflation program, which it announced last month, which would moderate at least to some extent the present trend of price increases and inflation. The drop, to be sure, at least according to the results of this survey, would be only a few percentage points compared to the announcements in March.

[Box, p 13]

What the Statistic Says

The statistical data on foreign trade are unfortunately not any less "gloomy" than all the other economic flows—exports, valued at $1.625 billion in the first three months of this year (for four republics without Slovenia and Croatia), are down 26.4 percent, and imports, worth $2.209 billion, are down 9 percent.

Examined by republics, the largest decrease in exports (31.3 percent) was recorded by B-H, and the smallest by Montenegro—only 2.6 percent. In Serbia, exports were down 27 percent. The situation with imports is somewhat different. The largest drop was recorded by Macedonia, 25.1 percent, and the smallest by Serbia, 2.8 percent. B-H and Montenegro recorded a drop of 7.8 percent. Only Kosovo has recorded a slight growth of imports, and that was 0.9 percent.

In the first three months of this year, exports covered 73.6 percent of the imports of those four republics taken together (the coverage in the same period of last year was 91 percent), and a trade deficit of $384 million was recorded (in the same period of last year, the deficit was $219 million).

Vojvodina

Hungarian Community Fears 'Threatening Reports'

LD2605192292 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 26 May 92

[Excerpts] Experts of the European 12 began a meeting today in Brussels on possible sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro. Simultaneously with this, reports of invariably bloody Serbian actions are coming in from Bosnia. [passage omitted]

Threatening reports are coming in from Vajdasag [Vojvodina]. In Szabadka [Subotica], 8,000 call-ups were sent around the city, while tanks and guns are being hidden in the ground in the immediate vicinity of the Hungarian border. To add to the problems, according to Nenad Cenak, the leader of the opposition Social Democratic League of Vajdasag, the lists have been prepared on the basis of which some of the Hungarians and Croatians of Vajdasag will be removed, in order to make place for the Serbian refugees.

The Democratic Community of Hungarians in Vajdasag, which is preparing for the Sunday elections, fears that hell will break loose in Vajdasag within weeks, and a wave of refugees will set off toward Hungary.

Kosovo

Rugova Cited on Independence Plans

LD2405194492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1707 GMT 24 May 92

[Text] Pristina, 24 May (TANJUG)—At a news conference, Ibrahim Rugova, president of the coordinating committee of Albanian political parties, revealed his future plans to the foreign press in the wake of today's illegal and unconstitutional election to "the organs of the so-called Republic of Kosovo".

Although the Yugoslav press were not invited to this news conference, we have nevertheless learned that Rugova said there should be a peaceful take-over of power in Kosovo following this election. Kosovo's newly elected assembly will meet in Pristina shortly after the election, Rugova said.

He hopes that this new state of his and its organs will start operating, if not in the current building of the province's organs, then in the building where the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo [Demokratski Savez Kosova—DSK] is located.

Although he advocates demilitarization, Rugova announced that Albanian security forces and police will be established.

In addition to sandwiches and other specialities, the foreign press were also presented with a "map of the Republic of Kosovo" which outlines the borders of the autonomous province of Kosovo and Metohija. Other items of propaganda, translated into English, were also distributed among the foreign press.

'Illegal' Election Results Reported

LD2605190292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1802 GMT 26 May 92

[Text] Pristina, 26 May (TANJUG)—Out of 100 seats in the assembly of the so-called republic of Kosovo, for which Albanians were voting at the recent illegal elections, 96 deputies are from the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo [Demokratski Savez Kosova—DSK]. The chairman of the electoral commission, Tadej Rodic, revealed this at a news conference today.

Representatives of the Parliamentary Party [Parlamentarna Partija] and the Party of Democratic Action [Stranka Demokratske Akcije—SDA] for Kosovo have one deputy each, and two deputies are from the ranks of independent candidates. Not a single Turk or Croat or Romani was elected, although claims have been made that they voted in the elections.

The only candidate for "the president" of the so-called republic of Kosovo, Ibrahim Rugova, received 99.5 percent of votes. Asked whether 250,000 Albanians abroad who make a third of the electorate voted, Rodic said that they only voted in "the presidential elections," but their votes have not yet arrived. Although it was claimed before the elections that 900,000 Albanians were entitled to vote, it was said today that about 820,000 were registered.

Montenegro

Prime Minister on Survival of Yugoslavia

LD2605152292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1240 GMT 26 May 92

[Text] Podgorica, May 26 (TANJUG)—Threats from abroad are calculated at making impossible Yugoslavia's survival and at thwarting Serbia and Montenegro's plan to continue living together in a reconstructed state, Montenegrin Prime Minister Milo Djukanovic said on Monday. Djukanovic, whose statement was part of an election campaign, spoke on behalf of Montenegro's ruling Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS) in the town of Savnik. His stands were carried by the press on Tuesday.

The elections for the parliament of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia—formed by the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro on April 27, following the secession of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia- Hercegovina and Macedonia—have been scheduled for May 31.

"It seems that some European countries are not satisfied with just breaking Yugoslavia and realizing, with the help of the breakaway republics, their old aspiration to have access to the Adriatic Sea. They now want to break

the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and topple the Serbian and Montenegrin leaderships because they are not willing to show unreserved obedience and refuse to allow that foreign ambassadors put in power authorities who would be suitable to their own countries and ready to take orders from them," said Djukanovic.

The Montenegrin prime minister described the role of some European Community member-countries in settling the Yugoslav crisis as "shameful" because it was based on ultimatums and threats. He warned that such attitude has never brought about any results in that region.

Djukanovic called for perseverance in guarding Yugoslavia, and invited the population to support it by taking part in the elections.

He denied rumours that the Austrian Government was involved in negotiations on an Isthmus which has caused a dispute between Montenegro and Croatia. "It has never been mentioned in any stage of the talks that a foreign government, least of all the Austrian, might participate in the talks on that matter," said Djukanovic.

The Isthmus, which forms a peninsula on the entrance to the Bay of Boka Kotorska, is a dominant strategic elevation on the Montenegrin coast.

Djukanovic said that the border dispute, which results from the disintegration of former Yugoslavia, might be settled in a tripartite exchange of territories by Montenegro, Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Muslim Alleged Responsible in Attack on Seselj

LD2605173392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1635 GMT 26 May 92

[Text] Podgorica, May 26 (TANJUG)—Moslem Adem Sabotic (60) is the would-be assassin on the leader of the opposition Serbian Radical Party Vojislav Seselj, said the police in Montenegro, the republic where the attack took place. The investigation has revealed that Sabotic threw a bomb on the car that was to be taken by Vojislav Seselj, one of the most popular opposition leaders in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, after an election rally on Monday in Podgorica, capital of Montenegro.

Seselj was not hurt, but 61 persons were. Sabotic has admitted to wanting to kill Seselj, whom he hates. Montenegrin police arrested Sabotic, who is well-known to them, only 40 minutes after the assassination attempt, but his identity was not revealed until Tuesday. Three automatic rifles, a machine-gun and large quantity of ammunition were found in Sabotic's flat, including three bombs in the car he drove to the rally, which are identical to the one he threw into the crowd.

Federal parliamentary elections have been scheduled for May 31 in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia which consists of Serbia and Montenegro. Parties rallying ethnic Albanians, Moslems and some of the larger opposition parties in the two republics have announced that they will boycott the elections.

Macedonia

Kozyrev Visits Ohrid; Plans To Meet Gligorov

AU2705110492 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 27 May 92

[Text] Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev started the second day of his visit to Macedonia in Ohrid, where he visited cultural and historical monuments of this ancient town. At his own request Kozyrev visited the museum of Slav literacy, the gallery of medieval icons, and the 11th century church of St. Sofia.

After sightseeing, Kozyrev said that Ohrid is the cradle of the Slav civilization, literacy, and culture. The Russian minister should arrive in Skopje about noon, where he will hold talks with President Gligorov and the republican leadership. Kozyrev is expected to officially present the diplomatic note on the recognition of the international sovereignty of Macedonia by the Russian Federation.

No 'Formal Recognition' Yet

AU2705142792 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 27 May 92

[Text] As we have already said, talks between Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev and the Macedonian leadership are under way in Skopje. It was expected in Skopje that Russian Minister Kozyrev will announce at a news conference the official decision of Russia on the international recognition of Macedonia. Good day to our correspondent in Skopje, Boris Djordjioski.

[Djordjioski] Good day to you, too. Let me say immediately that Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev did not hand a note on the international recognition of Macedonia to Macedonia's leadership, that is, to Gligorov or his colleague Denko Malevski. There are many reporters at the news conference, and the questions they asked mostly boiled down to whether Russia has recognized Macedonia and whether it will do so. Kozyrev said that these are diplomatic details that he does not know exactly and that there is also some paper work [kancelarijski posao] to be done, but that this note on international recognition of Macedonia is going to be prepared. He has several times pointed out the fact that he is, as he said, visiting a sovereign and independent Macedonia, that this is already a sufficient (?recognition), and that what is involved are not only a formal recognition and formal relations between Russia and Macedonia, but that these are closer relations, those between allies and friends and that one should have that in [word indistinct] and not some kind of formal recognition of Macedonia. Therefore, a reply to the question has finally been given, Skopje has received no note from Russia.

Albanian Foreign Minister Visits, Meets Malevski

AU2205130692 Tirana ATA in English
0939 GMT 22 May 92

[Text] Tirana, May 22 (ATA)—The foreign minister of the Republic of Albania, Mr. Alfred Serreqi paid an official visit to the Republic of Macedonia, where he had talks with the foreign minister of this Republic, Mr. Malevski. During the talks the Macedonian party voiced the readiness for a more intensive cooperation between our two countries since conditions exist for such a thing. Macedonia, Mr. Malevski said, wants that the Albanian Government recognizes the Republic of Macedonia as independent and sovereign state. According to him, this would be also a good basis for the qualitative improvement of the bilateral relations. Besides, they raised also the idea of cooperation between the zone of the Adriatic Sea and the Black Sea. In this regard, they were of the opinion that a conference should be held to discuss on what may be attained in this direction. Likewise, they proposed that cultural contacts should be intensified between our two countries. Concerning the border circulation, the Macedonian minister insisted in establishing a civilized discipline in it.

The Albanian Foreign Minister Mr. Serreqi voiced his pleasure over the visit and asserted the determination of the first Albanian democratic government to create new relations with all the states. The Albanian Government, he said, recognizes the borders of the Republic of Macedonia. Besides, it is ready to recognize the Republic of Macedonia as an independent and sovereign state, but for this it is important the observation of the legitimate rights of the ethnic Albanians in Macedonia. The Albanian party is of the opinion that their status, according to the Macedonian Constitution does not reflect the actual and historic reality. Besides, Mr. Serreqi assured his Macedonia counterpart that the Macedonian minority in Albania enjoys all the rights guaranteed by the constitution and international acts, regarding the minorities. At the end, they agreed that these contacts continue at all levels.

In this visit, Mr. Serreqi was received in separate meetings by the premier, the chairman of the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia and President Gligorov, with whom he exchanged opinions of mutual interest.

Over the visit in the Republic of Macedonia, the Albanian foreign minister had cordial and constructive meetings with the Albanian parliamentary group, with the chairman of the Party of Democratic Prosperity, Mr. Nevzat Halili, and representatives of the political parties of the Albanians.

Bulgarian Official Discusses Transport Links

AU2205191292 Sofia BTA in English
1849 GMT 22 May 92

[Report by BTA special correspondent]

[Text] Skopje, May 22 (BTA)—At a working meeting in Skopje today Mr. Kiril Sadonkov, first deputy minister of transport of Bulgaria, and Mr. Aleksandar Lepavtsov, minister of construction, urbanization and communications of Macedonia, considered a project for the establishment of a Tirana-Sofia-Skopje transport corridor. Mr. Sadonkov said the talks focused on the timing of expert-level meetings on the projects. There are plans to hold such a meeting in late June or early July. A minister-level meeting will be held in August or September to adopt a comprehensive project. The European Community and various international banking institutions will be approached for a loan to finance the project.

An extension of the rail route from Skopje to Sofia was also on the agenda. To this end, one more tunnel has to be completed in the Bulgarian sector. The lack of funds in both countries, however, will delay the construction for the time being.

Mr. Sadonkov said that the two projects will be submitted parallelly for discussion to the G-24 at the meeting scheduled for June 15.